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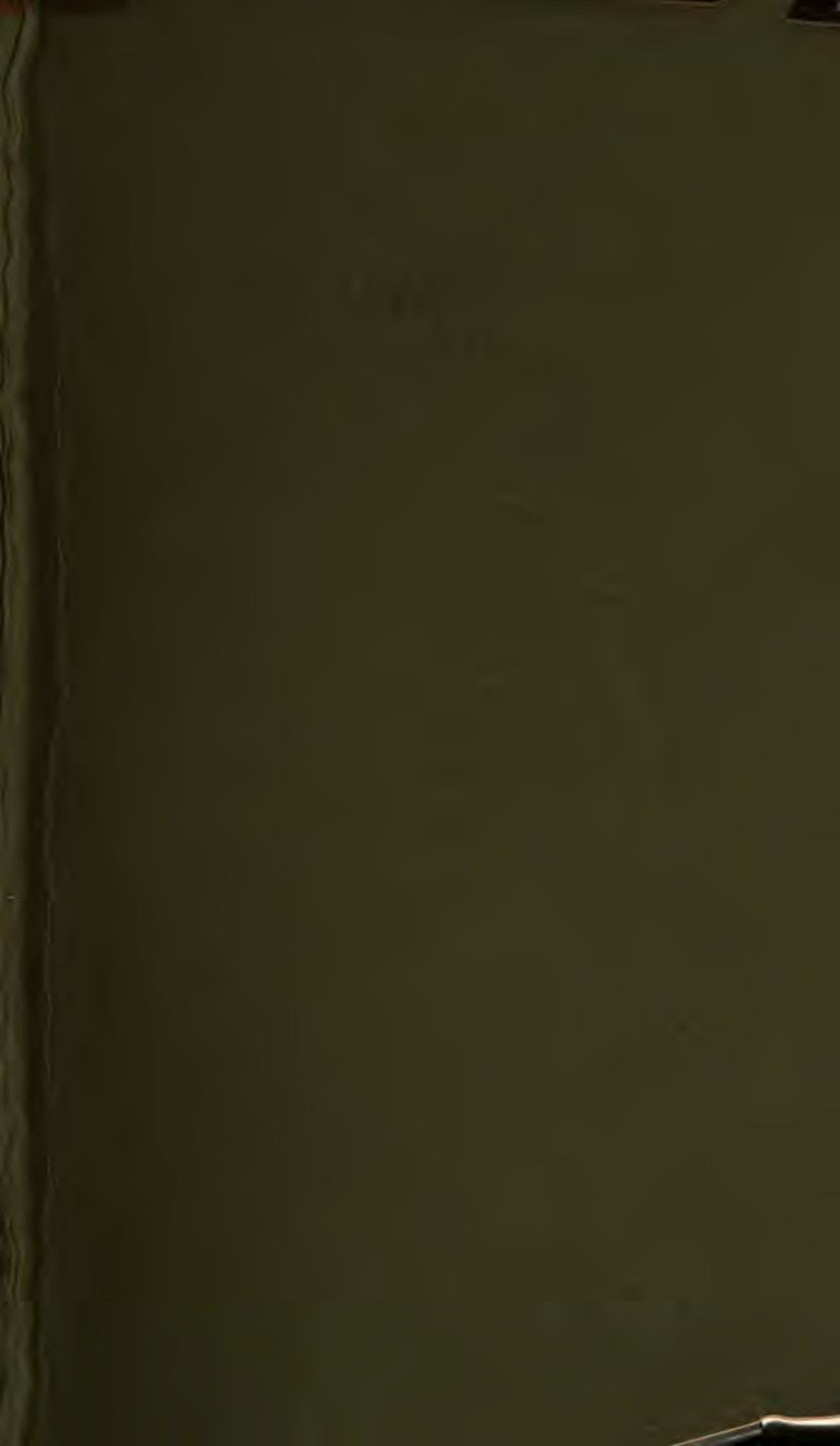


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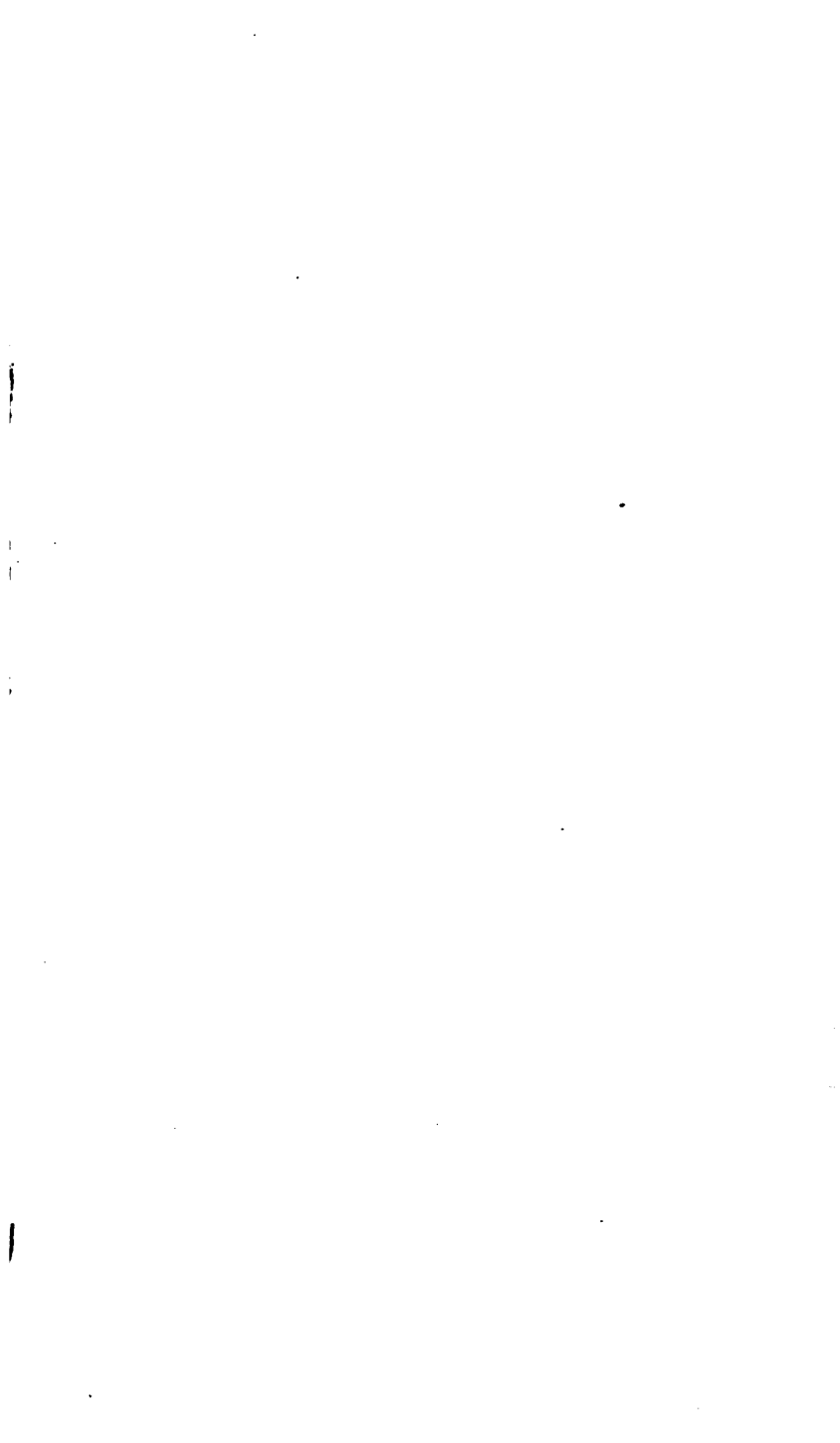
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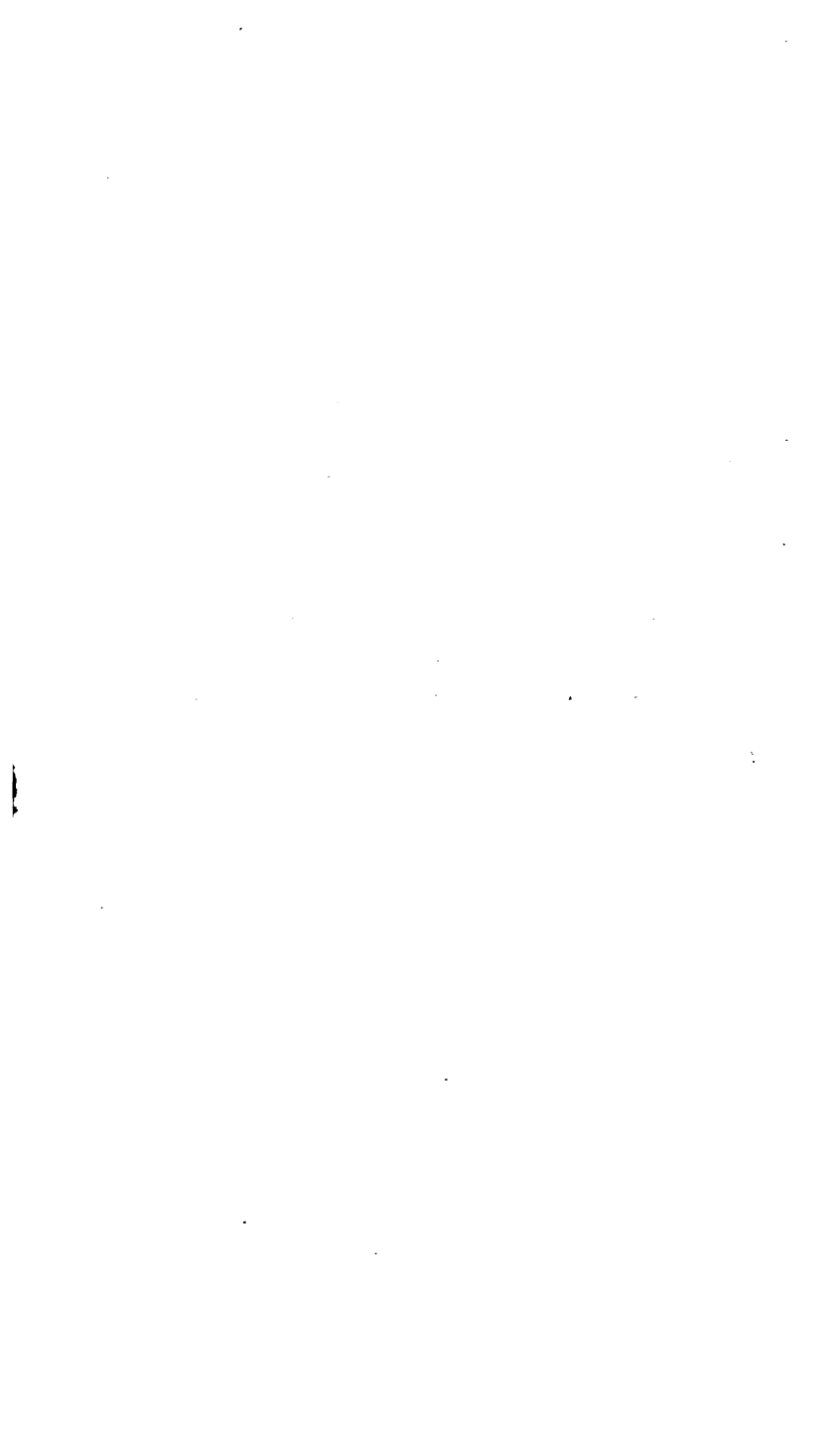
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THE
ISLAND OF SARDINIA,
 INCLUDING
 PICTURES OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS
 OF THE SARDINIANS,
 AND

NOTES ON THE ANTIQUITIES AND MODERN OBJECTS
 OF INTEREST IN THE ISLAND:

TO WHICH IS ADDED SOME ACCOUNT OF THE
 HOUSE OF SAVOY.

BY JOHN WARRE TYNDALE, M.A.,

BARRISTER AT LAW.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



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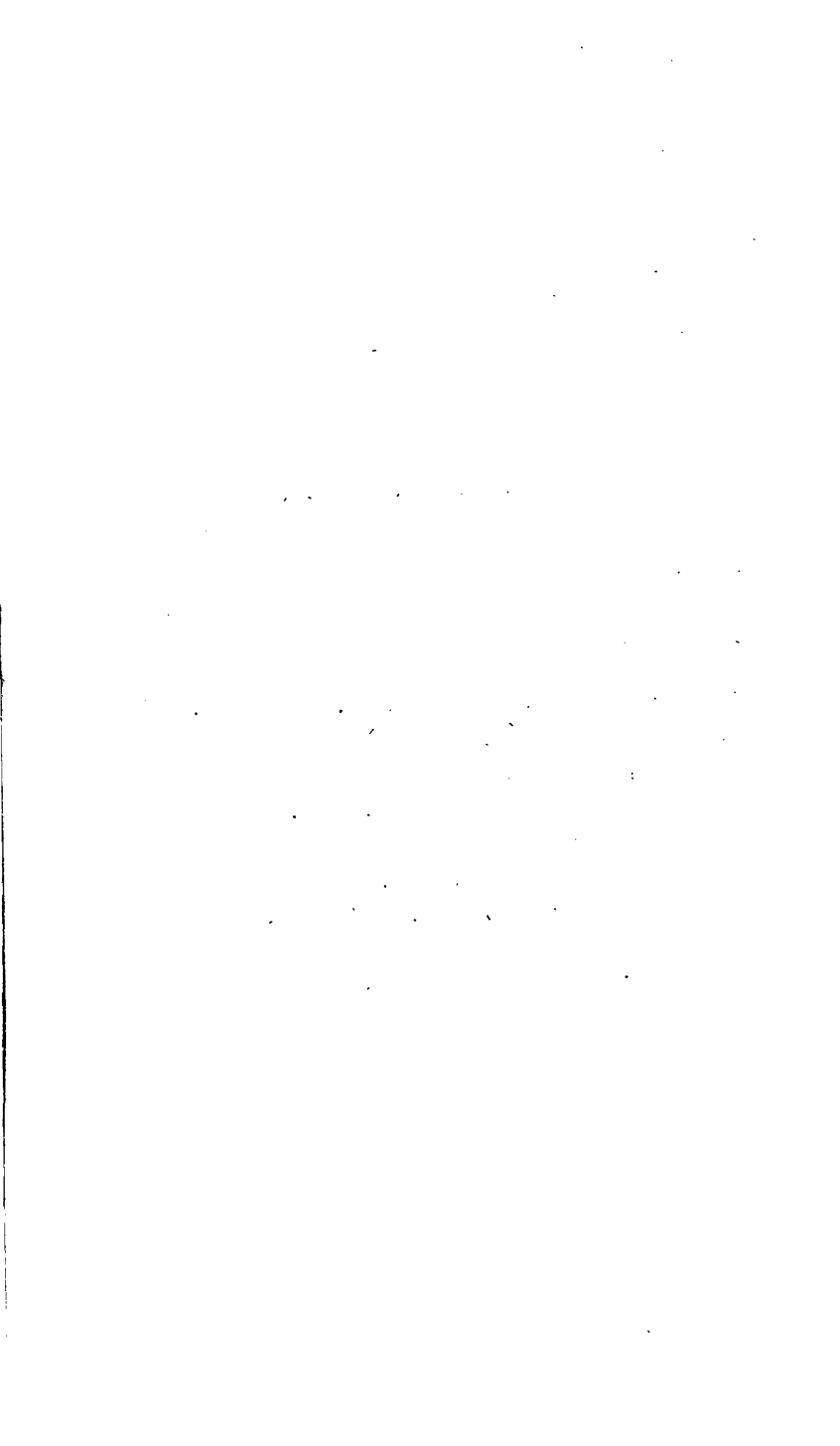
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

IN THE FIRST VOLUME.

MAP OF THE ISLAND.

ARMS OF THE FOUR GIUDICATI	Title Page.
ANTRO DI NETTUNO, ILLUMINATED	Frontispiece.

	PAGE
SECTION OF INTERIOR OF A NORAGHE	111
SECTION OF CORRIDORS OF A NORAGHE	113
SEPOLTURA DE IS GIGANTES	140
PLAN OF THE MADRAGA	159
TUNNY SLAUGHTER	169
THE MARFARAGIU	174
SARDE HORSE-TRAINING	200
A GRAMINATOGJIU AT TEMPIO	281



CONTENTS OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

PAGE

Island of Sardinia but little known.—Size.—Position.—
 Early Colonies.—Origin of names Ichnusa and Sardinia.—
 Phœnician, Greek, Carthaginian, and Roman Settlements.—
 The Dark Ages.—Vandals.—Saracens.—The Giudici.—
 Papal, Pisan, and Genoese Claims and Usurpations.—The
 Island transferred to the Aragon Crown.—Given to Savoy in
 lieu of Sicily.—Vittorio Amadeo, second Duke of Savoy,
 proclaimed King of Sardinia.—Genealogy and great Al-
 liances of the House of Savoy.—The Career of Vittorio
 Amadeo II.—His Abdication.—Private Marriage.—Unsuc-
 cessful Attempt to regain the Throne.—Captivity and Death.
 Carlo Emanuele III.—His Character.—Frugality, Etiquette,
 &c.—Viceroy Bogino.—Beneficial Measures.—Vittorio
 Amadeo III.—French Alliances.—French Revolution.—His
 Misfortunes, humiliating Treaty, and Death.—Affairs of the
 Island.—Enthusiasm in Defence against the French.—Na-
 poleon Buonaparte before La Madalena.—Constitutional
 Demands.—Vacillation of the King.—Insurrection against
 the Piedmontese.—Revolt against Feudalism.—Angioy, the
 popular Leader.—Carlo Emanuele IV.—His Absolutism and
 Unpopularity, Abdication and Retirement to a Jesuit Mo-
 nastery.—Vittorio Emanuele.—Seeks Refuge at Cagliari.—
 Returns to Piedmont.—Retrograde Policy.—Disaffection.—
 Revolution of 1821.—His Abdication.—Carlo Felice.—
 His Reign and Death.—Accession of Carlo Alberto, the
 Prince of Carignano.—His Policy and Position . . . 1

CHAPTER I.

PROVINCE OF ALGHERO.

From Genoa to Porto Torres, on the North Coast of the
 Island.—Coasting round to Alghero.—The Headlands.—
 Nautilus.—Disembarkation and Reception of the Bishop.—
 History of the City.—Forests of Sardinia.—Produce of the
 Province of Alghero.—Want of Education.—The Forti-
 fications.—Sarde “ Intemperie.”—Statement of Ancient

Authors.—Unhealthiness of the Island.—The City Authorities.—The Cathedral.—Relics.—Churches.—Pictures.—Monasteries.—Hospital.—Prison.—Archives.—Privileges of the City.—Catalan MS.—Visit of Charles V. to Alghero in 1541.—Mole and Shipping.—Coral Trade.—The Fishermen.—Anecdote of the King.—Sardines.—Anchovies.—Pinna Marina.—Cheapness of Provisions.—Margalions.—Wines.—Mode of preparing the "Zibibo."—Algherese Society.—Their Hatred of the Sassarese.—Popular Song.—Learning.—Lo Frasso.—Poëtry.—The Opera.—Lord Nelson's Remarks on Alghero.—Festa of Valverde.—Costumes.—Legends and Amusements.—Puttifigari.—Dangers of Travelling.—Fuorusciti and Banditi.—Anecdote of the Marchese di Boyl and Pepe Bonu.—Arrival of the King at Alghero.—Ball.—His Visit to the Antro di Nettuno.—Observations on the Grotto.—Comparison with other Stalactitic Caverns.—La Grotta dell' Altare.	50
--	----

CHAPTER II.

The Noraghe and the Sepulture de is Gigantes.—Description, and Enquiry into their Origin.	109
---	-----

CHAPTER III.

Alghero to Sassari.—Olmedo Race-course.—Noraghe.—Incredulous Pastori.—Monte Doglia.—Wild Boar Hunting.—The Nurra District.—Le Saline.—The "Tonnara" or Tunny Fishery.—Night Journey from Sassari for the "Mattanza" or Slaughter.—Malaria.—The Tunny Trade.—Opinions of the Ancients.—Sinister Eye.—Plan of the Madraga.—The Rais.—Operations.—Excitement.—The Foratico, Camera dell'Oro, and Camera di Morte.—Invocation of Saints.—Mattanza delayed.—Invocations and Offerings.—Attack and Victory.—Number captured.—Landing at the Marfaragiu.—Preparation of, and packing the Fish.—Oil.—Choice Bits.—Practice of La Busca.—Size, Price, and Quantity of Fish at this Mattanza.—Value of the different Tonnare.—The Island of Asinara.—History.—Barbarism.—Duke of Asinara and Vallombrosa.—Porto Torres.—History.—Ancient Remains.—Church.—San Gavino.—Legends and Superstition.—Fрати Filippini.—Episcopal See.—Port, Ship-

CONTENTS.

vii

	PAGE
ping, and Trade.—Intemperie.—Costumes.—Sarde Travel- ling.—Hotels.—Hospitality.—Anecdotes.—Late Suppers.— English Ablutions and Sarde Surprise.—Horses.—“Por- tante” Pace.—Cavallante or Guide.—Porto d’Armi.—Public Roads.—Table of Distances.—Railway Speculation.	148

CHAPTER IV.

Porto Torres to Sassari.—French Colony.—Roman Aque- duct.—Noraghe.—Murder.—Situation and History of Sassari. —Population.—Genoese Influence.—Priesthood.—Society. —Ignorance and Curiosity.—Anecdote of a “Primo Vio- lino.”—Easter Ceremonies and Processions.—Te Deum.— Festa deisette Dolori.—Costumes.—Viandanti custom.—Ca- thedral.—Churches.—Monasteries.—University.—Museum. —Library.—MSS. of Azuni.—Examination for Degree.— Congratulatory Odes and Embraces.—Convocation.—Rivalry with the Cagliari University.—The Castello.—Fountain of Rosello.—Ritta Christina.—Environs of the City.—Gardens. —Oranges, Myrtles, Roses, and Olive Groves.—Tobacco Trade.—Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Island.—Tradi- tions.—Number of Clergy.—Parishes and Churches.— Poverty and Education.—Tithes.—Revenues.—Popes, Saints, and Martyrs.—Feste.—Monasteries and Orders.—Jesuits.— Vacant Dioceses and Livings.—Indulgences.—Right of Sanc- tuary.—Powers of the Priesthood.—Their relative Position to the Government.	208
--	-----

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Sassari.—Route to Nulvi.—Church.— Anglona District and Feud.—Noraghe di Alvu.—Sedini.— Character and Appearance of the People.—Castel Sardo.— Description.—Festa Di Maggio.—Churches.—Bulzi.— Wretchedness.—Employments.—Ruins.—Customs.—Sas is Spungas, and Fowl Remedy.—The Coghinas River.—Trout. —Want of Bridges.—Ferry.—Loss of Life.—Arrival at Tempio.—Hospitable Cavallante.—Shop Bed.—Province of Gallura.—History.—Gomita.—Dante.—Vendetta Anec- dotes.—Insurrection and Bravery of Cilloco in 1801.—Visit of the King to Tempio.—Preparations.—The Militia.—

	PAGE
Ceremonies.—Reception of the King.—Fêtes.—Costumes.—Dante.—Bersaglio, or Shooting Match.—Guns.—Graminatogjiu, or a Wool-plucking Coterie.—Improvisatori.—Enthusiasm in the Ballo Tondo, the National Dance.—Description of a private Graminatogjiu.—Poetry and Bonbons.—Sarde power of Improvisation.—Specimens.—Tigellius.—Familiar use of Latin Versification.—Tempio after the King's Departure.—Description of the City.—Cathedral.—Churches.—Vendetta.—Anecdote.—The Bishop.—Monasteries.—Anecdote.—The late Governor.—Death Warnings.—Anecdote.—Employment and Character of the Tempiese.—Foundlings.—Schools.—Civic Authorities.—Healthiness.—Limbara Mountains.—The Balestieri Tribe.—Anecdote.	245

CHAPTER VI.

Excursion to Castel Doria.—Monte Spina.—Conversation with Shepherds.—Account of the Castle.—Valley of the Coghinas.—Ampurias.—Mineral Waters.—Unsophisticated Baths.—Swine.—Bortigiadas.—Cork roofs.—Agius.—Monte Cucaro.—Anecdotes of Fuorusciti.—Forests.—Villages of Calangianus, Nuches, and Luras.—Orchil.—Nitre.—Nuraghe Nuracu Maiori.—Sepulture.—Castello di Balaiana.—Luras.—Search for Perdas Fittas and Conversation with Guide.—Sepultura.—Granite Rocks.—Sedum.—Monte Santu and Legend.—Logu Santu.—Forests.—Shepherd's Hut.—Crossing to the Island of La Madalena.—Straits of Bonifacio.—Mezzo Schiffo, or Agincourt Sound.—Lord Nelson's Remarks.—Longone, or Longo Sardo.—History.—Corsairs.—Piedmontese Colony.—Ancient Tibula.—Islands of Caprera, Biscie.—Capo del Orso.—Capo della Testa.—Granite used by the Romans and Pisans.—Island of La Madalena.—Sarde Navy.—The Inhabitants.—Occupations.—Churches.—Healthiness.—Absence of Crime.—Trade and Shipping.—The Town bombarded by Buonaparte.—Anecdote of him and General Cesari.—His Retreat.—Lord Nelson's favorite Station in 1803-4.—His Statements and Opinions relative to these Harbours, and the Importance of Sardinia.—His Gifts to the Church.—Emma Liona.—Refutation of Scandal.—Popularity of the Fleet.—Remarks.	304
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NOTE

ON

SARDE MONIES, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

It is only within the last few years that the decimal mode of calculation has been introduced into the island; and as the old system still prevails in many districts, there is much confusion in the various denominations of the monies, weights, and measures. Their relative value has been adjusted by a Sarde tariff published in 1842. From this, together with the tables of M'Culloch, M'Gregor, and from the information obligingly afforded me by our intelligent and well-informed Consul at Cagliari, Mr. Craig, a reduction has been made into the English equivalents. It is unnecessary to give the entire tables; but the calculations throughout this work have been made on the following basis:—

In money, the exchange has been taken at the rate of 25 Lire nove to the £ sterling; consequently, the Lira nova is about $9\frac{1}{2}\cdot4$, the old Lira Sarda is $1s. 6\frac{1}{4}\cdot7$, and 200 years ago it was seven times its present value.

In lineal measure, the old Sarde Palmo is about 10·3 inches, and the new Metro about 39·3 inches.

In square measure, the old Imbuto is about 298·04 square yards; the Starello, 4768·3; the Raziere, 16889·05; and the new Metro about 1·1 square yard.

In dry measure, the old Imbuto is about 5·4 pints ; the Starello, 1 bushel, 1 peck, 0 gall. 6·5 pints ; and the Raziere, 4 bushels, 2 pecks, 1 gall. 7 pints.

In liquid measure, the old Pinta is about 1·76 pint ; the Barile of wine, 7 galls. 3·1 pints ; and the Botta, 1 hogsh. 47 galls. The new measure, the Litro, is equivalent to the Pinta.

In weights, the old Sarde Libbra is calculated at 14 oz. 5 dr. 17·9 gr. ; the Sarde Cantar at 93 lbs. 4 oz. 6 dr. 2·7 gr. ; and the new measure, the Kilogram, at 2 lbs. 3 oz. 4·6 dr.

To avoid complexity, the various calculations in Sarde monies, weights, and measures, occurring in the following pages, are given solely in English value, except in those instances where the mention of the Sarde denominations is of importance.

INTRODUCTION.

Σαρδῶν μεγίστην τε νῆσον καὶ εὐδαιμονίᾳ πρώτην.

PAUSANIAS, lib. iv. ch. 7.

"It is the summum bonum of everything which is valuable for us in the Mediterranean. The more I know of it, the more I am convinced of its inestimable value, from position, naval ports, and resources of all things."—*Extract of a Letter in the Colonial Office, from Lord Nelson to Lord Hobart, dated March 17th, 1804.*

WHILE travelling for the recovery of my health, in the spring of 1843, I was induced, at the instigation of several Italian friends, to make an excursion to the Island of Sardinia. A delay in publishing some notes then made, has arisen from my absence abroad, from circumstances of a private nature, and from the necessity of subsequently consulting a variety of works to obtain information on the former condition of that country.

The works of the Sarde authors, Arquer, Fara, Vico, Dexart, Vitale, Olives, Cetti, Gemelli, Gazano, Cossu, Madao, Azuni, and Mamelli, were as unknown to me as the Carta di Logu, the Capitola, the Pragmaticas, the Pregoni, and the Editti,—the laws by which the island has been

governed. Though valuable in many respects, they are but slightly so in comparison with the more modern accounts by La Marmora, Manno, Tola, Angius, Martini, Mimaut, and other authors, whose learning and inquiry have extracted the pure ore of facts from the dross of legends and assumptions of their predecessors, and have thrown a light on the confused and chaotic darkness which surrounded the historical existence of the island.

In the following narrative, which offers a sketch of its history, antiquities, customs, and condition, details of the principal events are interspersed in their appropriate localities; but the reader may find the previous perusal of a few general outlines, and a notice of some of the members of the House of Savoy, useful by way of explanation of many incidental circumstances and allusions.

The remarkable institution of the Giudici,—the regal chiefs of the island during the dark ages, and the peculiarities of the feudal system, with its recent abolition (points more especially within the sphere of the historian), form, with some other matters of separate interest, supplementary articles in an Appendix.

The national inheritance of ancient customs may lead to many classical recollections, and the

antiquarian may be induced to examine the subjects of the Noraghe, the Sepulture de is Gigantes and idöls,—monuments and relics unknown in other countries, — whose origin, use, and mystery have been silently borne down on the stream of time without a revelation, and the solution of which has hitherto baffled the few who have investigated them.

In speaking of the political and social condition, the administration of the laws, and the state of education and religion, circumstances and anecdotes may appear to be stated without sufficient authority; but the omission of names in such instances is out of regard to the many friends who so kindly communicated to me facts they dared not openly denounce, still less publish, within the territories of the King of Sardinia.

In endeavoring to expose the abuses by exemplifying the dangerous powers of the law functionaries and priesthood, any prejudiced view or intentionally injurious reflection on individuals is most distinctly disavowed; and all my acquaintances (from whom I received every courtesy and attention) themselves condemned, and yearned for a deliverance from the system in which they were involuntarily but necessarily involved. Nor is it intended to ridicule the

tenets or ceremonies of the Roman Catholic as compared with those of the Protestant faith; but as the palpable frauds, blind superstition, and that mental subjugation by which alone a people can be kept in a benighted state, are such prominent characteristics of the Sarde nation, many ecclesiastical legends, anecdotes, and statistics,—otherwise absurd and valueless,—are inserted.

The baneful effects of this thralldom are justifiable objects of remark ; for having witnessed the religious observances in most countries where the Roman Catholic religion prevails, as well as those of the cognate form of faith in Greece and Russia, I may venture the assertion that in none of them are the influence of the priesthood and neglect of education greater, and in few so great as in Sardinia. Many details of the scenery and matters of local interest, may serve as a guide to the traveller.

It would be inopportune in this place to carry out an analogy which may frequently suggest itself in the political relations of Sardinia and Ireland to Piedmont and England, and in the unfortunate animosities between the Sarde and Piedmontese, and the Celtic and Saxon races ; but while expressing any opinion on the past policy of

the House of Savoy towards this isolated province, and in examining the motes in the eye of that Government, we may be indirectly reminded of the greatness of the beam in our own eye.

The only English works on Sardinia are by Captain Smyth, R.N., published in 1828, and a statistical report by Mr. M'Gregor in the seventh part of his "Commercial Tariffs;" but as a hydrographical survey and a commercial inquiry were their respective objects, various matters omitted by them are here attempted to be supplied. In this endeavor, the work by the General Conte de la Marmora has been my principal resource; and while acknowledging my authority, my sincerest thanks must be expressed to him for his personal kindness, as well as for his generous permission to avail myself of his map of the Island. He has lately published one on a much larger scale, based on his own triangulation, and which, as a work of science, is an additional proof of the great talent and industry he has displayed in a valuable and noble career. His work, if more known in this country, might induce a desire to visit the ancient Ichnusa,—an Island with which, as Heeren observes, "we are less acquainted than with Owhyhee or Otaheite;"*

* Ancient Nations, chap. ii.

and if the traveller should meet with the same kindness from the inhabitants which I had the good fortune to experience, and should derive a similar pleasure from the examination of its ancient remains, modern beauties, and various objects of interest,—of which it is here intended to offer a description,—he will in no wise regret a deviation from the general routine of tourists.

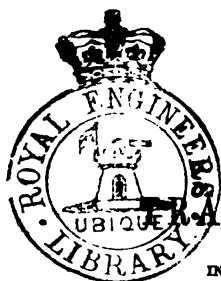
The reader is particularly requested to bear in mind that the following pages were written before the late deplorable revolutions, and that the observations on the state of the Island are left unaltered, so as to present a picture of its condition previous to the recent changes and policy of Carlo Alberto.

“Pleraque eorum quæ retuli, quæque referam, parva forsitan et levia memoratu videri, non nescius sum; . . . nobis in arcto et inglorius labor; . . . non tamen sine usu fuerit, introspicere illa, primo adspectu levia, ex quibus magnarum sæpe rerum motus oriuntur.”

LONDON, November, 1848.







RAVELS

IN THE

ISLAND OF SARDINIA.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Island of Sardinia but little known. — Size. — Position. — Early Colonies. — Origin of names Ichnusa and Sardinia. — Phœnician, Greek, Carthaginian, and Roman settlements. — The Dark Ages. — Vandals. — Saracens. — The Giudici. — Papal, Pisan, and Genoese Claims and Usurpations. — The Island transferred to the Aragon Crown. — Given to Savoy in lieu of Sicily. — Vittorio Amadeo, second Duke of Savoy, proclaimed King of Sardinia. — Genealogy and great Alliances of the House of Savoy. — The Career of Vittorio Amadeo II. — Carlo Emanuele III. — His Character. — Frugality, Etiquette, &c. — Viceroy Bogino. — Beneficial Measures. — Vittorio Amadeo III. — French Alliances. — French Revolution. — His Misfortunes and Death. — Enthusiasm in Defence against the French. — Napoleon Buona- parte before La Madalena. — Vacillation of the King. — Insur- rection against the Piedmontese. — Revolt against Feudalism. — Carlo Emanuele IV. — His Absolutism and Unpopularity, Ab- dication and Retirement. — Vittorio Emanuele. — Seeks Refuge at Cagliari. — Returns to Piedmont. — Retrograde Policy. — Disaffection. — Revolution of 1821. — His Abdication. — Carlo Felice. — His Reign and Death. — Accession of Carlo Alberto, the Prince of Carignano. — His Policy and Position.

THE King and Kingdom of Sardinia are so familiar to our ears, as identified with Piedmont and Savoy, that we are apt to overlook the insular portion of those dominions ; nor does it often occur to the tourist, after

rambling over the snows of Mont Cenis, through the smiling valleys of Savoy, the fertile plains of Piedmont, and the ever-varying scenes of the Ligurian coast, that there is still a small island, within a few hours' sail, worthy to be explored, and from whence the monarch of all these fair possessions derives his regal title. As comparatively few persons, after they leave the school-room, have occasion to retain a further knowledge of its existence than that it is an island, it may be stated that it is situated between $38^{\circ} 52'$ and $41^{\circ} 17'$ north latitude, and between $8^{\circ} 4'$ and $9^{\circ} 50'$ longitude east of Greenwich, and between $5^{\circ} 45'$ and $7^{\circ} 35'$ east of Paris.

Captain Smyth considers it to be 140 nautical miles long, and 60 broad, on the average, or about 163 long, and about 70 wide, statute miles; agreeing with many ancient and modern authors, that it is the largest island in the Mediterranean.

Strabo makes it less than Sicily; Diodorus, Polybius, and Pausanias, make it about the same size; but Cluverius, agreeing in the statement of Herodotus and Scylax, considers it to be larger; and, among other ancient opinions Bias of Priene, in his advice to the Ionians, and Darius, in his speech to Histiaëus, designates it as "the greatest of all the islands."

La Marmora calculates the distance between the north-western and south-western promontories of Capo Falcone and Capo Teulada to be 268,228 metres, or about 167 miles; the greatest width, from Capo Camino, on the eastern, to Capo Argentario, on the western coast, 144,170 metres, or about 90 miles, and the narrowest part, from the Torre Grande d'Oristano to the Torre de Bari, 100,800, or about 66 miles; but, as a general definition, the island may be said to be about 170 long and 70 wide, in statute miles.

Its natural position offers great advantages for commercial communication with Spain, France, Italy, Sicily, and Africa, being respectively towards those shores as a centre to its circumference, the island of Minorca lying about 200 miles from Oristano, the Hyères Islands about 180 from Asinara, Sicily about 170 from Capo Carbonara, and Cape Serrat, on the coast of Tunis, about 120 from Capo Spartivento.

“Is there anything authentic or interesting in the history of Sardinia?” would probably be the question of every one, on their first introduction to the subject. The island having had no native historians, we are entirely dependent on those of other nations for the light which has been thrown on the otherwise utter darkness of its early condition; and, as it took no prominent position in the annals of any countries except Rome and Carthage, and but little information can be gathered from other sources, the question of its earliest colonists can perhaps be best solved by the ancient remains now extant on its soil.

It is not intended to enter into any disquisition or attempt to reconcile the various statements made by different authors * as to the veracity, still less as to the chronological order of the Phœnician, Libyan, Tyrrhenian, Greek, Trojan, and other colonies, but, according to some classical historians, we find that the earliest name of the island was Ichnusa,† a word derived from

* Pausanias, lib. x. ch. 17; Diodorus, lib. iv. ch. 29 and 35, lib. v. ch. 15; Silius Ital. lib. xii. v. 361; Strabo; Pomp. Mela; Cluverius, art. Sardinia. Vide also Bochart, Heeren, Münter, Manno, Raoul Rochette, &c.

† Pausanias, *loc. cit.*; Aristotle, de Mirab. ch. 104; Claudian, de bell. Gild. lib. xv. v. 507; Sallust, Fragm. 2; Pliny, lib. iii. ch. 13; Silius Ital. lib. xii. v. 881; Solinus Polyh. ch. 10.

its similitude in form to the impression of a footstep ; that, for a similar reason, it was sometimes called *Sandaleotis*, and that, on the arrival of *Sardus*, the son of *Maceris*,—known as the Theban Hercules,—with a Libyan colony, the name of *Ichnusa* was exchanged for that of *Sardinia*. On the other hand, it is affirmed that this Libyan preceded the Greek colonies, but, leaving these discussions for a more opportune moment, we may merely observe, that the highest modern authorities give a Phœnician origin to the *Sarde* nation, and that its antiquities may be attributable to that or an anterior epoch.

It appears that the Carthaginians possessed considerable influence in the island as early as 700 B.C., and maintained it, with varied success, till the year 259 B.C., when the Romans made their first aggression. From this period, the *Sardes* became victims of both the rival powers, and though the island was declared a Roman province in 235 B.C. (the first Rome ever possessed, for Sicily was not, at this time, entirely subdued), their subsequent alliances with the Carthaginians, or revolts to obtain their freedom, entailed on them a series of attacks till the end of the republic. During the *Triumvirate*, it continued to suffer the pains of submission, rather than the penalties of insurrection ; from the reign of *Tiberius* to that of *Constantine*, A.D. 315, but little is known of its condition, and, in the absence of any direct accounts, we can only presume by collateral evidence, that a similar system of government was adopted to that in the other Roman provinces.

The severities exercised towards the *Sardes* by the Carthaginians were of a most barbarous nature, and their subjugation by the Romans was attended with no

less injury and degradation, for it has been calculated that, in less than 150 years, from 259 B.C. to 112 B.C., 150,000 fell by the sword or were taken prisoners to Rome; at a later period, the island, as a *provincia decumana*, seldom appears on the page of history, unless in reference to the payment of heavy tribute and supplies; in the few instances where the administration of the government is mentioned, extortion and injustice seem to have been the rule, rather than the exception, the mild prætorship of a Cato, 198 B.C., and a Caius Gracchus, 118 B.C., being the only two on record to counterbalance the numberless Titus Albutius, Scaurus, Vipsanias Lænas, and Natale.

On the decline of the Roman empire, it fell under the dominion of the Vandals,* from the year 427 to 534 A.D., and, after being re-annexed to the Roman sway, the Goths obtained a brief possession, till 552,† when it became entirely subjected to the eastern emperors. The form of government as instituted by Justinian continued to prevail, but, from the distance of the imperial residence, misrule increased in proportion to the diminution of protection, and thus neglected, the spiritual influence of the Papal See gradually assumed a temporal character, towards the end of the sixth and commencement of the seventh centuries, though the dominion of the emperors was formally acknowledged.

Beyond the attacks by the Lombards in 598, and the repeated invasions by the Saracens from 709 till 1022, there are few recorded events; but the Sardes, on

* Procopius, de bell. Vandal. lib. i.; Vict. Vitensis, lib. i.

† Leonardo Aretino, de bell. Ital. adv. Got. lib. iv.

the death of Charlemagne in 815, sent an embassy to his son Louis le Débonnaire; and that it was an act of allegiance and homage is probable from his making a donation of the island in 817 to the Roman See; from which circumstance, the Popes in subsequent periods dated their pretensions to the right of disposing of it at will to different princes.

At the instigation of the Popes Giovanni XVIII. and Benedetto VIII., who promised the sovereignty of the island as the reward, the Pisans and Genoese effected the expulsion of the Saracens in 1022, and became joint possessors, though the partition, conquest, and claims, as variously stated by the historians of the rival republics, are difficult to be reconciled.*

The Pisans affirm that the Genoese, contented with the booty they obtained after the victory, left to them the undisputed possession of the island, and that they then divided it into four provinces or Giudicati; but, as will be shewn elsewhere, that division and interesting form of government was of a much earlier origin.—Vide Appendix, art. “Giudici.”

From the joint occupation of these rival powers in 1022 to the Aragon dominion in 1322, a period of 300 years, their expeditions to eject each other, the alliances and anathemas of Rome, the series of sea and land engagements, dishonorable intrigues, and violated treaties, shew their total indifference to the welfare of the Sardes, and sole consideration of their own political or pecuniary aggrandisement. So constant a cause of dispute was it to the two republics, that in their treaties of peace in

* Tronci, Ann. Pis. ann. 1005; Sigonius, lib. viii.; Ubert. Foglietta, Gen. Hist. lib. i. 1015; Reinaud, sur les Invasions des Sarrasins, Paris, 1836; Brev. Pisan. ann. 1020. Vide also Cambiagi, Muratori, and Sismondi.

the twelfth century an article was inserted, by which any wars relative to the possession of the island were excepted, with an exemption from the oath; and the four giudicati, compelled to participate in these vicissitudes, became the common victims, and their sufferings, as related in history, were probably less than those of which it is silent.

The quarrels, aggressions, and intestinal wars of the Giudici present but little interest; and the reader of the prolix Sarde accounts of them would feel as Milton did when, according to Hume, he gave up his intention of writing the details of the history of the Saxon Heptarchy in despair of making it instructive or entertaining, and declared "that the skirmishes of kites and crows as much merited a particular narrative as the confused transactions of these princes."

At the close of the thirteenth century, hostilities having commenced between the Papal See and the Pisans, the former, by its assumed right of possession through Constantine, Charlemagne, and his successors, transferred the sovereignty from that republic to the Aragon crown; and in 1297, Don Diego II. was formally invested at Rome by Bonifacio VIII., but the wars in which he was engaged at that time, and the large sums paid by the Pisans prevented him from obtaining possession till 1323, when his son, Alfonso IV., landed with a powerful force on the Sarde shores, and, after several severe conflicts, the Aragon standard floated for the first time on the walls of Cagliari in 1324.

A series of contests with the new rulers—great events in a little history—continued till 1479, when, by the union of Castile and Aragon, the island was incorporated with the Spanish monarchy, and thus remained till, in

the war of succession, it was forced to acknowledge the Austrian sovereignty in 1708.

By the treaty of Utrecht, the 31st of March, 1713, it was proposed to assign the island to the Elector of Bavaria, and Sicily to the Duke of Savoy, together with the reversion of the crown of Spain, in default of male issue to Philip V.; but as the Emperor and the King of Spain were not parties to that treaty it was never virtually possessed by the Elector, and it was subsequently arranged by the treaty to be given to the Emperor.

In 1717, the Spaniards regained their lost dominion, but the attack on Sicily by Philip, in 1718—then belonging to Vittorio Amadeo II., Duke of Savoy—was one of the many causes which instigated England, Austria, and France to form with Savoy a quadruple alliance, and by a treaty signed at London, dated August 2, 1718, that island, which had been so long joined to the kingdom of Naples, was again placed under the Austrian dominion, and Sardinia given to the Duke of Savoy, with the proviso that in case of default of male issue in his successors it should revert to Spain.

By a subsequent treaty, signed in London on the 8th of November, and at Paris on the 18th, 1718, the Duke of Savoy formally renounced his rights over Sicily, and accepted Sardinia, with the title of King; and to enable him more definitely to carry out the change, the court of Vienna agreed, by a treaty dated 29th of December, to assist by an armed force, if requisite, with which the English fleet was to co-operate,—a necessary precaution, as the King of Spain was still intending to dispute the cession of Sicily. But he subsequently acceded to the terms of the treaty; and

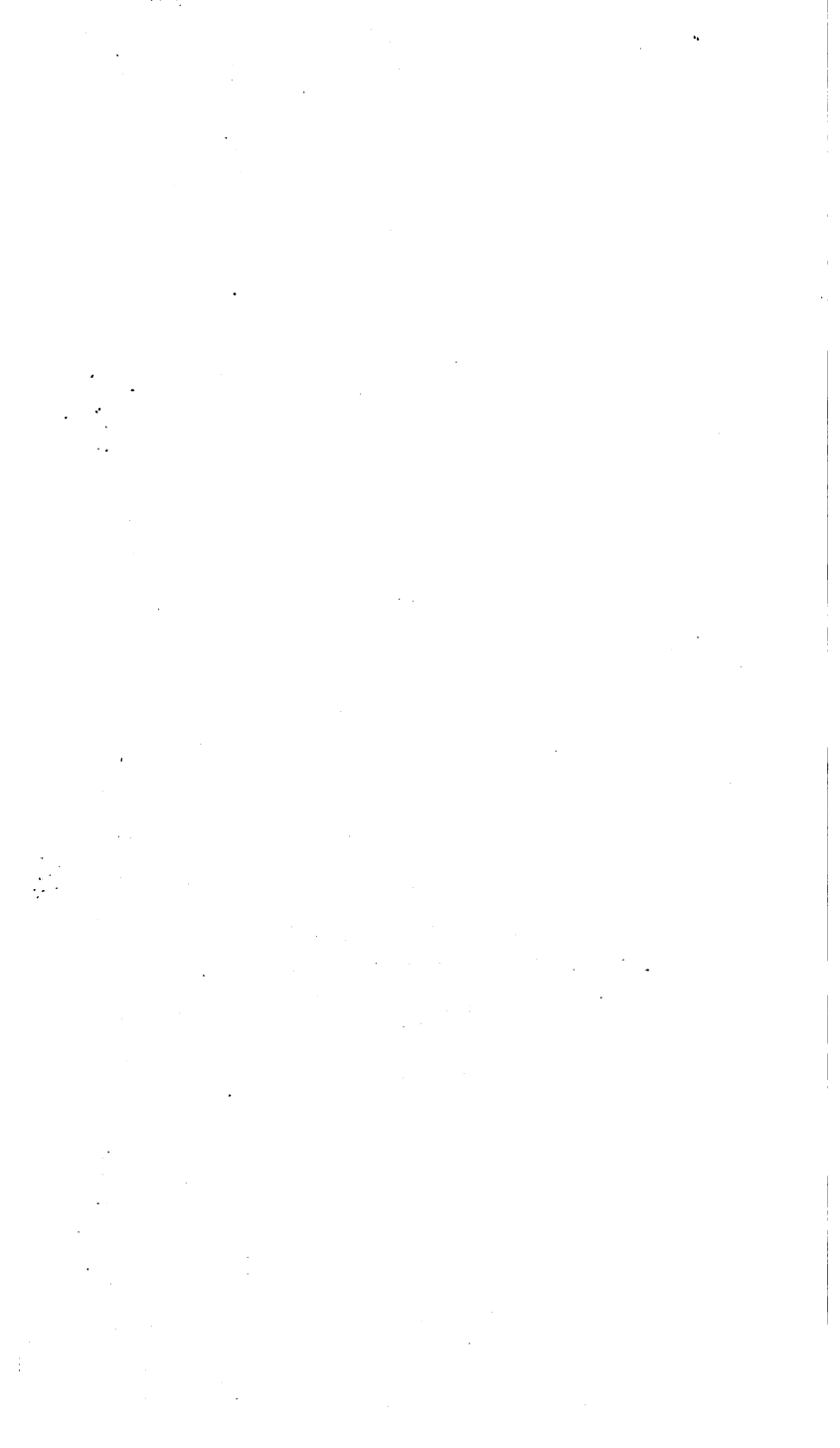
the Baron Pallavicini di San Remy, as viceroy of Vittorio Amadeo II., left Sicily under the escort of Admiral Byng, on the 16th of July, 1720, arrived at Cagliari on the 31st, and on the 4th of August the Prince Ottaviano Giuseppe de Medici, as plenipotentiary and proxy for the Emperor, received from the Spanish Captain-General Chacon, the formal renunciation, in the name of his Catholic Majesty of all his claims of sovereignty over the island. On the 8th, the Prince Ottaviano resigned his authority to the Viscount del Porto, and St. Remy, in his royal master's name, took the oath of observance of the laws and privileges of the people; after which, having received the homage and allegiance of the Stamenti, Vittorio Amadeo the II., was formally proclaimed King of Sardinia.

Having now arrived at the period when it becomes connected with the House of Savoy, we may enter more fully into the events which have occurred since its union, and offer a slight notice of some of the members of that dynasty. The accompanying abridged genealogy of the later Dukes of Savoy and Kings of Sardinia, down to the present monarch, is intended to shew their great alliances, and the consequent importance attached to their family. The sketch only commences with Carlo Emanuele I. in 1666; but the previous generations held an equally high position in Europe; and though their early Saxon origin is too confused to be stated with much certainty, their advancement, increase of territory, rank, and power in Italy were rapid, and may be summed up in the words of Koch. "The origin of the House of Savoy is as old as the beginning of the eleventh century, when we find a person named Berthold in possession of Savoy, at that time a province of the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. The grandson

of Berthold married Adelaide de Suza, daughter and heiress of Mainfroi Marquis of Italy and Lord of Suza. This marriage brought the House of Savoy considerable possessions in Italy, such as the marquisate of Suza, the duchy of Turin, Piedmont and Val d'Aoste (1097). Humbert II. Count of Savoy conquered the province of Tarentum. Thomas, one of his successors, acquired by marriage the barony of Faucigny. Amadeus V. was invested by the Emperor Henry VII. in the city and county of Asti. Amadeus VII. received the voluntary submission of the inhabitants of Nice, which he had dismembered from Provence, together with the counties of Tenda and Boglio, having taken advantage of the intestine dissensions in that county and the conflict between the factions of Duras and Anjou, who disputed the succession of Naples and the county of Provence. Amadeus VIII. purchased from Otho de Villars the county of Geneva, and was created by the Emperor Sigismund (whose daughter he married) first Duke of Savoy, February 19th, 1416."

By the marriage of his son Louis in 1432, with Anne daughter of John de Lusignan King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, Carlo I., his grandson, became the heir to those possessions in 1485, and through that alliance the present king still enjoys those titles. The succeeding dukes, namely, Luigi I., Amadeo IX., Filiberto I., Carlo I. and II., Filippo II., Filiberto II., Carlo III. and Emanuele Filiberto allied themselves by marriage with the Houses of France, Austria, and Portugal, in their own persons and in the female branches; and their continued connexion, as well as that with the House of Spain, may be traced in the table.

The peculiar circumstances in the dynasty are the



gradual increase of their power by alliances and not by conquest ; the abdication of the crown by three members in a period of ninety-one years, namely, Vittorio Amadeo II. in 1730, Carlo Emanuele IV. in 1802, and Vittorio Emanuele in 1821 ; and the accession of the Carignano branch of the House to the throne on the default of male issue by the last generation of the Dukes of Savoy. Except by the marriage of Vittoria, an illegitimate daughter of Vittorio Amadeo II. with Vittorio Amadeo of Carignano in 1714, there has been no connexion between the branches since the separation from their common ancestor Carlo Emanuele I. in 1585 ; from which period the princes of Carignano remained unknown and unnoticed till an heir to the crown was required on the extinction of the males of the elder line, and it was then necessary to ascend five generations and descend to the present monarch Carlo Alberto ; circumstances which have but few parallels in royal genealogies.

The reign of Carlo Emanuele I., Duke of Savoy, son of Emanuele Filiberto, as well as the reigns of his son Vittorio Amadeo I., and his grandson Carlo Emanuele II. require no especial notice ; but we may look into those points in the lives of Vittorio Amadeo II., the first King of Sardinia, and his successors, which are either intrinsically interesting, or throw any light on the present policy and events in the House of Savoy. Vittorio Amadeo II. while in possession of Sicily, and as king of the two extreme points of Italy, had continual visions of an acquisition of the intermediate principalities by war, peace, or treaty ; and, in reference to it, is said cleverly to have compared Italy to an artichoke, which must be eaten up leaf by leaf ; “ *qu'il faut manger feuille à feuille* ;” but the knowledge of

his ambition, and his appointment as heir to the throne of Spain by the will of Charles II. in default of Philip V., the Duke de Berri, and the Archduke Charles, made him the object of alliance as well as of restraint to both France and Austria. Though Louis XIV. was always fearful of increasing the power of the House of Savoy, and adopted as a maxim that the only repayment for their services would be an occasional restitution of a portion of the territories France had acquired by conquest or a matrimonial alliance, which would tacitly bind them more firmly in his grasp, he nevertheless was desirous of seeing them made Kings of Lombardy, as a check and counterbalance to the influence and overtures of Austria; a policy into which England also entered.

The position in which Vittorio Amadeo II. was consequently placed by their alternate concession and compulsion, agreements and opposition, was such that on the peace in 1696 he was obliged to abandon the one and throw himself into the arms of the other; by which, as Voltaire observes, "*En moins d'un mois, il fut généralissime de l'Empereur et généralissime de Louis XIV.*;" and adds in reference to the various parties he adhered to and deserted as occasion demanded, "*Nul prince ne prenait plutôt son parti, quand il s'agissait de rompre ses engagements pour ses intérêts.*"

By the treaty of Utrecht, he obtained a large portion of the territory which France had seized during the previous wars, an extension of those in Piedmont, and the kingdom of Sicily from Philip V.; which latter, as we have already seen, was taken from him, and Sardinia given in exchange in 1720.

In his differences with the Papal See he resolutely

defended his rights and defied the threatened anathema ; and his humiliation of the Jesuits in 1716 was carried out with no less vigor. When removing them all from their offices in the schools and colleges he notified that if he received any application for their restoration he would expel them from his dominions ; and, according to Voltaire, was the first royal personage who rescued his conscience from their thralldom, which bold and wise measure proceeded, it is said, from the circumstance of his having gone to visit his Jesuit father confessor on his death bed, and that the dying man requested him to send every one out of the room and to come close to him, as he had something to communicate. “ Overpowered with all the kindness I have received at your hands,” said he, “ I cannot shew my sense of gratitude more strongly than by giving you one last counsel ; one so important that it will discharge me of my debt to you. *Never have a Jesuit for a confessor.* Ask me not the motives for this counsel, for it is not permitted to me to disclose them.” In the internal administration of his kingdom he introduced, together with the revision of the laws, a systematic organization and the principles of that centralisation which has been so rigidly carried out by his successors. There never was a prince so fond of asking advice, or less easily overruled. He was affable, and put entirely at their ease those from whom he wished to obtain information of any kind ; and though accused of having debased the nobility by making it a purchasable rank, he held his other favours at the highest possible price ; and in endeavouring to satisfy all parties he practically carried out what he frequently said, “ *Je ne suis pas riche et cependant j’ai de quoi récompenser tous mes bons serviteurs. J’en paye quelques uns avec de l’or, je*

satisfais ceux que j'estime le plus avec des honneurs, et le plus grand nombre se contente de bonnes mines et de bonnes paroles."

In reference to his newly acquired island, the miseries of war and heavy taxation to which the Sardes had been subjected during the rival claims of Spain and Austria, inclined them favourably towards a monarch of a new race ; and the feeling was responded to by an immediate endeavor on his part to lessen the ills they were suffering, to reform the abuses which had accumulated in every part of the administration of the previous government, and to repress that defiance of public order which had arisen from a long inability to maintain it by the arm of law and justice. The measures adopted require no specific mention ; but their general tenor was advantageous.

The causes of his abdication in 1780 have been differently represented. By some accounts he is stated to have carried on separate intrigues with France and Austria in the impending rupture relative to the Spanish succession ; to have received on one day from the emperor a sum of money and the promise of the Milanese territory for himself and his heirs for ever, provided he engaged never to separate his interests from those of Austria ; and a few days afterwards, in a secret audience with the Spanish minister, to have accepted the offer of Novara and Parma, on condition that in case of war he should declare for the Bourbons ; but seeing his double intrigue on the eve of discovery he determined to abdicate, affecting a philosophical love of repose quite inconsistent with the course he so shortly adopted in attempting to regain the throne. Other accounts suppose the cares of royalty, fatigues of government, and the threatenings of war to have been his reasons ; the

loss of his queen, or his attachment to the Comtesse de St. Sebastien, whom he had married a month previous to his abdication, have been respectively assigned ; but whatever may have been the real motive, he subsequently repented of the act he had so wilfully committed. His son Carlo Emanuele III. strenuously opposed his intention, and on suggesting a temporary absence, during which he would assume for him the reins of government, the king replied, " Mon fils, l' autorité suprême ne souffre aucun partage : je pourrais désapprouver ce que vous feriez, et ce serait mal. Il vaut mieux n'y plus penser." Having made all his arrangements in secrecy, the same form and ceremonials of abdication as used by Charles V. in 1556 were adopted, and read aloud before him at his command on the 3rd September, 1730, in a full assembly of his ministers and noblesse,—all totally unprepared for the announcement ; and he then went to the apartment of his daughter-in-law, the Princess of Piedmont, and declaring her queen, presented to her the Comtesse de St. Sebastien, saying—" Ma fille, je vous présente une dame qui veut bien se sacrifier pour moi. Je vous prie d'avoir des égards pour elle et pour sa famille." He next proceeded to mass at his chapel, where the priest, hesitating at the passage in the prayer for the king as to whether the name of the son or the father should be mentioned, he energetically pronounced the words, " Carolum Emmanuelem." The countess, who on her marriage was made Marchioness de Spino, was the daughter of a Count Cumiana, and, while a maid of honour to the queen, Vittorio Amadeo, as a young man, had formed an attachment to her ; and, " pour cacher un accident suite de cette liaison," as an historian says, the queen hastened on her marriage with the Count St. Sebastien, one of her lords in waiting.

She became a widow in 1703, and the king, on the death of his wife in 1728, though occupied in many gallantries, had never lost sight of the object of his early affection ; and appointing her *dame d' honneur* to the Princess of Piedmont, gave her apartments in the palace, so situated that he had at all times private access. But on his retirement with her to Chamberry after his abdication he became weary of a monotonous life, and the marchioness taking advantage of his increasing restlessness induced him to attempt the recovery of his throne. During these schemes, Carlo Emanuele III. having arrived at Chamberry on a visit to his father, the latter resolved to anticipate the king's return to Turin, and carry out the project during his absence at Evians, where he was to meet his queen. He calculated that his own good and useful services for his subjects would be remembered, that their sentiments of respect, confidence, and fear had not yet expired ; and that his son, with the timid deference he had always shewn him, would not dare to resist his will, but resume without a murmur the rank of Prince Royal. To ensure the success of so delicate an enterprise, he considered it requisite to adopt sudden and rigorous measures ; and while meditating on the mode of executing them, he went out with the marchioness for his customary evening drive. The public were admitted as usual to see the castle ; but the illustrious pair returning home sooner than was expected, the crowd hastily dispersed, with the exception of a young country priest, who, unable to find his way out, remained in their chamber, where, concealed behind the door, he overheard a continuation of the subject which had engrossed them during their drive, and which left no doubt of their plan, or of the time and manner of its execution. On their retiring to another room, the

young man effected his escape, and set off the same evening with the utmost speed to Evians, where he imparted to Carlo Emanuele the important secret he had overheard.

The king within an hour was on horseback, and, accompanied by a small retinue, passed the Little St. Bernard, and entered his capital on the same day that his father reached the adjacent Château of Rivoli. The salute of the cannon at Turin, announcing his arrival, fell heavily on his father's ear, and it was the first roar of the sea of troubles into which the perfidious parent had thrown himself. On the following day, Carlo Emanuele presented himself before him. Both were sad and embarrassed. Vittorio Amadeo having complained that the air of Savoy did not agree with him, and that his accommodation was not sufficiently good, his son instantly ordered that the Château of Montcalieri should be prepared for his reception; and on occupying it a few days afterwards, he there received the visits of the court, who, by orders of his son, shewed him the greatest respect and attention. Nevertheless his words and actions were carefully watched, for it was evident that he was meditating some deep scheme. He blamed with bitterness all that had been done during the past year; and the change in his own manner was no less striking than in that of the marchioness, who, in an interview, seated herself in an arm-chair, similar to that of the queen, whom she had also offended at their last meeting at Chamberry. It is possible that in the distressing incidents which followed, Carlo Emanuele might have returned the crown to his father, but for the extreme impropriety of placing his queen in an inferior rank to her who had held such an equivocal and dependent position.

Vittorio Amadeo was observed to sound the different dispositions of the principal men in office ; and on the evening of the 25th September, 1731, he sent for the Marquis del Borgo to Montcalieri, where, having detained him till a late hour, he frankly broached the subject, ordering him, after a short preamble, to give up the act of his abdication, and to notify to the king his determination to resume the reins of government. The minister, confused and embarrassed, but unwilling by a refusal to subject himself to his violent temper, took his leave with an evasive assent to bring the act on the following day. But Vittorio Amadeo, on a little calm reflection, repented his precipitate demand, feeling that were he in his son's place, such conduct would cost a minister his head, and in a state of great agitation paced his chamber till midnight ; when, suddenly taking a new resolution, he mounted his horse, followed by a single attendant, and presenting himself at one of the gates of the citadel, insisted on having it opened. The Baron de St. Remy, the governor, being informed of his application, proceeded to the gate ; and having refused with decision and even sharpness to open it without an order signed by the king, who should be informed immediately of what had occurred, Vittorio Amadeo returned to Montcalieri full of disappointment and wrath at this failure of his first effort. Del Borgo had, in the interim, proceeded to the royal palace, awakened the king, and communicated to him the result of the interview with his father.

The young monarch immediately summoned his council, and, acting on their advice, consented to retain the crown ; but while deliberating on the next step to be pursued, a messenger arrived with the news of the attempt to enter the citadel. This, as well as their

knowledge that he would never forgive their opposition if the king were to yield, determined them to secure his person instantly ; and the recent example of Philip V., whose first act on reascending his throne was to sacrifice the ministers of his son, was not of a nature to induce them to risk such an experiment. After much scruple and hesitation the order for his arrest was obtained from the king, but signed with tears in his eyes, and so trembling a hand, that they were obliged to guide his pen. The Château of Montcalieri was surrounded with troops on the 27th of September, a detachment of which occupied the staircase leading to his chamber ; and the Comte de la Perouse, to whom the task was confided, burst open all the doors, seized the attendants, and entered the apartment where Vittorio Amadeo and the marchioness were asleep. The latter, stopped in her attempt to escape *demi-nue*, was taken off in a carriage at full gallop to the château at Ceva ; but the former, undisturbed by the commotion and noise, continued in one of those heavy sleeps for which he was remarkable. De la Perouse at length awakened him, declared his commission, and shewed the king's order for his arrest. In a paroxysm of rage, he used the most horrible imprecations, refused to get up and dress himself, and made a furious resistance, not only with his legs and arms, but with his teeth, and as the orders were that no violence should be offered, he was wrapped up in the bed clothes, placed in a carriage, and, escorted by a body of troops, was immediately taken to the château at Rivoli, where he was strictly guarded lest he should escape or lay violent hands on himself. Such was his frenzy—during which he is said to have smashed, at one blow, a marble slab in his apartment—that he was placed under further restrictions, all articles

with which he might injure himself being removed, no writing materials allowed him, and his guards ordered not to answer any questions or observations otherwise than by a respectful bow. When his rage had abated he was removed, at his own request, to Montcalieri; books and society were permitted, and the marchioness restored to him; but who, as Costa remarks, "*vraisemblablement se serait bien passée d'une pareille condescendance, car ce n'était pas une prison qu'elle s'était promise de partager avec son royal epoux.*" Vittorio Amadeo never saw his son again, and died on the 31st October, 1732, after which the marchioness was removed to a convent, where she passed the remainder of her days. A mysterious silence on these events was maintained at Turin during the life of Carlo Emanuele III., who never would enter the Castles of Montcalieri or Rivoli, and whose previous filial conduct, as well as general domestic virtues, proved how averse was his nature to the stern and painful measures he was compelled to adopt to repress the extravagant caprices of a wilful and unsteady parent. Thus ingloriously terminated the career of Vittorio Amadeo II., after a reign of forty-five years, during the many vicissitudes of which he succeeded, except in his fatal abdication, in practically testing the truth of his favourite aphorism, "*Il faut s'efforcer toujours de tirer quelque profit d'un mal qu'on ne peut empêcher.*"

Carlo Emanuele III., on the renewal of the contests between Austria and France in 1735, advocated the cause of the latter; but was soon compelled to make the same changes and tergiversations in his alliances as his father had done. His territory became the scene of action, and, alternately successful and unfortunate in the various campaigns, he was the constant pivot of intrigue

or warfare till the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, when the peace which ensued in Italy enabled him to devote his attention to the internal affairs of his kingdom. A new code of legislation was promulgated, and the feudal and mortmain laws of Savoy were altered. The loan of twelve millions of lire, contracted during the late war, and the repayment of which was made by additional annual taxation to the amount of two millions and a half, was entirely paid off; and on that occasion the king, when meeting his ministers and courtiers, said, "Gentlemen, this is the happiest day of my life; I have just suppressed the last extraordinary impost."

In commencing to economise the impoverished finances of the treasury, which during the war had been greatly strengthened by subsidies from England, he allowed himself, for his own annual expenses and those of the queen, the Prince of Piedmont, the three princesses, and the Duke of Chablais, only 79,000 lire, about 3,160*l.*, and so far reduced the salaries of all the *employés*, that the Prime Minister of State received only 11,500 lire, or 460*l.* per annum. Such were his frugality and parsimony, that he is said to have amassed no less than twelve millions of lire; but this example of economy was enforced on others by an arbitrary interference in personal rights, namely by a commission to inquire into and regulate the private means and expenditure of individuals, and where their finances were embarrassed, the administration of them was taken away till the debts were paid. His consistency in the prevention of unnecessary expenses, and in assisting the needy was proved by many acts of generosity.

In speaking to one of his ministers, who, with but very slight means, had given his wife a carriage to enable her to appear at court, he said, "I do not wish for any

of this sacrifice to appearance ; it is above your means. It will be said that you make illegal profits at my expense, or that you are embarrassing yourself in my service. When the marchioness wants a carriage, my orders are already given that one of mine shall be at her disposal." On another occasion, Bertrandi, a young surgeon of respectability, was selected to travel on a government mission ; but the king being informed that he had declined it, as his aged parents were dependent on him for their daily subsistence, said, " Tell him that during his absence I will fulfil the duties of a son to his parents ;—let him start, and think only of improving himself so as to serve, and be an honor to his country."

Proud, cold, formal, phlegmatic, and a rigid disciplinarian in all things, he was averse to the pursuit of pleasure, or any object in which the feelings, rather than the understanding, were called forth. A scrupulous observer of etiquette and appearances, he always dressed in full costume, seldom appeared in public, except on horseback, and never bent to any relaxation which he considered would lower the royal dignity. " We kings," he was wont to say, " are not made to amuse ourselves ;" and so fearful was he lest the external divinity with which majesty is " hedged in" should lose its effects, that he said in reference to kings familiarising themselves with their subjects by travelling, especially out of their own dominions, " Kings are as statues which ought not to descend from their pedestals, nor be seen in too near a point of view. Out of our own frontiers all the world knows us ; but we know no one." His *exigence* in state dress was carried so far that neither his daughter-in-law nor his daughters ever appeared before him unless in full court costume ; and

when the princesses on returning late from witnessing a hunting expedition, in which their carriage had been upset in the water, presented themselves at supper in simple dresses, he sent them to their rooms to change them before he allowed them to sit at table. He not only enforced punctuality from others, but observed it himself with minuteness. Strict in his religion, he was the reverse of his father in the luxuries and debaucheries of a court life; and no Marchioness de Spino ever tempted him either in his early or latter days from the path of morality. In encouraging the arts and sciences, he did so as a national duty, not as a matter of taste; for he was ignorant of every thing connected with painting, disliked music, and designated poetry as merely "mezze righe."

Early and late in attending to the affairs of his government, he entered into all their details, and was not only "le roi regne," but "le roi gouverne." The Austrian ambassador, Foscari, being one day admitted into his study, found him surrounded with, and examining, financial papers; and on eulogising him for his indefatigable application in the minor points of his administration, the king replied, "Second rate powers, such as mine, have no other means of preserving an honorable position among the greater ones;" and he proceeded to mention the circumstance of his having been busily engaged one day during the war in Lombardy in examining the accounts and state of provisions of his army, when the Marquis de Coigny happened to come in and express his surprise at seeing him thus occupied in matters unworthy the condescension of a prince; and that he replied to the marquis that as he was making his first campaign he considered it his duty to investigate and make himself master of details, so as

to be able to insist on a better attention to them by others; and that he triumphed in the work, for a few days afterwards the two armies being called on to make a sudden movement, the French were two days behind their time in arriving at the place of junction, from want of provisions.

As a soldier he was devotedly attached to his profession, and was fond of military pomp and parade; but never shewed any remarkable talent as a commander, though his personal bravery and cool intrepidity were undoubted. At the battle of Guastalla, in 1734, having put on a cuirass, according to the recommendation of the French generals, who were ordered to wear them when in battle, he found it so inconvenient that he privately retired and took it off, and then fought in a simple waistcoat in the heat of the contest during that memorable event.

A few days previous to the engagement, while reconnoitring the enemy's outpost in his carriage, some of their skirmishers made a charge, and nearly succeeded in taking him prisoner, owing to his guards having run away and deserted him. Pained at their cowardice, he summoned their regiment just before the action commenced, and addressed them. "Touched by your repentance, I appoint you to be my body guard on this day, and I hope so to lead you forward that you will repair your fault, and that your companions in arms will look on you once more with a favourable eye." Having attended mass, he then led them nobly into action, where many fell by his side, and his coolness and courage gained him the regard and admiration of the whole army.

Such was his general activity and the effect of these principles on his subjects, that a want of occupation

became almost a reproach among his noblesse; their sons, if not fighting under the national banner, held minor appointments in the civil departments; and in 1743, when the king left Turin to join the army, there were not above ten of the nobility unemployed in some service of their country.

Among his first efforts for the amelioration of the island of Sardinia the suppression of the bands of *malviventi* and *fuorusciti*, which by their number and influence had almost assumed a legalised position, was partially successful, and notwithstanding a slight demonstration of a remaining attachment among many classes to the Spanish dynasty, he succeeded in confirming his own authority and popularity by a variety of useful reforms and attention to their general and particular interests. The establishment of settlements in depopulated districts, the extension of commerce and agriculture, the advancement of education by a thorough change of the system in schools and colleges, the series of comprehensive judicial and ecclesiastical enactments, the organisation of a corps of national volunteers, the transmission of the post, and many minor ordinances and regulations of a similar tendency, so improved their social condition, that the memory of Carlo Emanuele III. and his Viceroy Bogino will always be regarded with gratitude. As an individual, though not distinguished for any remarkable powers, he was respected for many private virtues; but in his public career a disregard of treaties of alliance and a harsh treatment of all whose opinions were known to be of a liberal tendency, throw a shade over his political character.

He died in 1774, in the seventy-third year of his age, having been married three times in the course of nineteen years. His first wife, Christina, the daughter

of Theodore Count Palatine of Sultzbach, in Bavaria, to whom he was married in 1722, died in the following year; Polyxena Christina, of Hesse Rheinfels Rotenburg, became his second wife in 1724, and died in 1735; and finally he married in 1737 Elizabeth Teresa, sister of the Emperor Francis I., who left him a widower in 1741.

Vittorio Amadeo III. had attained his forty-seventh year, when he succeeded to the throne of his father, Carlo Emanuele III., in 1773, and had married Maria Antoinetta, daughter of Philip V. of Spain, in accordance with the secret articles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748.

There is nothing remarkable in his early career, or during his long and monotonous life, as Prince of Piedmont, his chief occupations being schemes for a removal of the abuses which had crept into his father's administration of affairs, and making notes on men and events, which was so habitual a practice, that he carried about him a pocket-book, in which he immediately entered his thoughts or opinions on any subject, and remarks on persons admitted to his presence. Of very moderate capacity, he never evinced any peculiar talent. His principal taste was an hereditary fondness for military matters, and his first campaign, in 1745, was the origin of a reorganisation of the army on his own peculiar and favourite plan, a fancy he carried out on succeeding to the throne, but which, from its practical inefficacy, he was obliged to give up for a simpler and less theoretical system.

He assumed the crown with every prospect of a continuance of the peace which Europe had then, for some years, enjoyed. The rivalries of France and Austria had lulled into a calm, and he sealed his alliances by

the marriages of his daughters to the two brothers of Louis XVI. (afterwards Louis XVIII. and Charles X.), of his son, Carlo Emanuele IV., to their sister Adelaide Clothilde, and of his son Vittorio Emanuele, to the daughter of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria and Duke of Modena.

His relations with the Papal See were better established than they had ever been by his predecessors; all ecclesiastical disputes were settled, and Benedict XIV., on the birth of the Prince of Piedmont, had sent by a legate some swaddling clothes, especially blessed for the occasion, and the promise of a cardinal's hat to the Roman minister at the court of Turin, distinctions conceded only to first-rate and most favoured powers. The alliances with the French dynasty were, however, far from acceptable to the Piedmontese, who foresaw, in each family link, a fresh national chain around them.

Though the sister of Louis XVI., on her marriage with the Prince of Piedmont, brought a dowry of 2,000,000 of francs, 2,000,000 more were added by Vittorio Amadeo III., the price of the sale of the ancient palace of the Dukes of Savoy, at Lyons.

The large sums expended on the improvements of the towns in Savoy, with the general expenses incurred in the king's visit and short residence in that part of his dominions, offended the Piedmontese no less than the profuse expenditure at Nice and other places, all which were considered as so many additional inducements and instigations to the French to possess themselves of these improved countries, a prophecy too soon realised. But these were not the actual causes of the ills which so speedily befel the nation. The French revolution had burst forth. When the attack on the

royal family commenced, the brothers of Louis XIV. fled to Turin, and found a refuge at the court of their father-in-law, and the ties of relationship and the principles of absolutism became sufficient cause for the National Convention to wreak their fury on Vittorio Amadeo III. He had already marched a large force into Savoy, to form a cordon, and act on the defensive, but, without any hostilities on his part, the French crossed the frontiers, and, driving the Piedmontese from their position, destroyed the fortresses they were erecting. Nice was similarly invaded; and, after these unjustifiable attacks, the Convention formally declared war, on the grounds that the king had offered an asylum to the emigrants, had refused to receive their ambassador Semonville, and had treated with severity "the friends of liberty" in Savoy and Piedmont.

Such were the reasons for which the republican oath was pledged, that "*Le tyran Sarde serait écrasé sous les débris du sien.*" In less than a month he was deprived of a quarter of his dominions; and in December, 1792, Savoy became the eighty-fourth, and in February following the Nice territory was the eighty-seventh department of the French Republic.

Vittorio Amadeo III. now saw his fairest provinces not only lost but imbued with the fearful principles of anarchy introduced by the invaders,—a misery which the preceding monarchs of the house of Savoy had escaped when those territories were taken from them by Francis I., Henry IV., Louis XIII., and Louis XIV.

In preparing for war, he was compelled, by the exhausted state of the treasury, owing to the late expenditure and mismanagement, to apply the private resources amassed by his father and himself, to the

national demands. England agreed to supply him with an annual subsidy of £200,000 during the war; and Austria with a corps of 6,000 men, the command of which, as well as of his own troops, was given to his ally, as he had no officer capable of undertaking the duty. With these means the campaign was commenced in 1793, and he left Turin on the 21st of August, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, to join a division of the army at Nice, using an expression similar to that of Nelson, "Nice o Superga," Victory or the tomb, and "that he would sooner, like Priam, be buried in the ruins of his palace than make any peace with the enemies of God and the assassins of Kings."

The successes of the French over the badly planned and worse executed tactics of the combined armies were continuous during 1794 and 1795; and by the unskillfulness of the generals, and want of courage shewn on several occasions, the invaders advanced with comparatively easy triumphs, but it was left for Buonaparte to finish the campaign. Feeling that the King of Sardinia, by his alliance with the Emperor of Austria, was the grand impediment to his possessing Italy, he pressed forward to annihilate him, and in fifteen days effected his object.

The capture of Cherasco and the hostile forces within ten leagues of his capital obliged him to sign an armistice on the 27th April, 1796; and, by the treaty of Paris on the 15th May, he gave over in perpetuity to the French Republic the Duchy of Savoy and the territories of Nice, Tenda, and Beuil. Among the other terms imposed on him were the expulsion of all the French emigrants, an amnesty for, and withdrawal of, all proceedings against those accused of political crimes, the restoration of their confiscated property, the

surrender of the principal fortresses of the kingdom, and the destruction of the remainder. The secret articles were still more onerous and painful; the use of his arsenal and stores, supplies for the French troops, and the dismissal of the friends immediately attached to his person, were exacted; and he was also compelled to renounce the titles of Duke of Savoy, &c., retaining only those of King of Sardinia, Cyprus, and Jerusalem, and his sons to exchange their titles of Duc de Chablais, Duc de Genevois, and Conte de Maurienne, for those of Marquis d'Ivrée, Marquis de Suza, and Conte d'Asti.

This complication of humiliating misfortunes was further aggravated by the emptiness of his treasury, for in the course of fourteen months forty-two millions of francs had been raised and expended, so that a further taxation of his impoverished subjects was impossible. Degraded in rank, deprived of territory, distressed in finances, and harassed by the dissatisfaction of his insular as well as continental subjects, his latter days were as wretched as his early life had been happy; and five months after the treaty of Paris an apoplectic fit, on the 16th October, 1796, terminated his career.

We must now look to the affairs of Sardinia during these events, and we shall find a sad picture of internal misrule and external aggression.

The policy, precepts, and example of his predecessors were now changed and neglected, and a variety of illiberal measures, added to the injudicious appointment of Piedmontese functionaries to the greater part of the offices in the island, caused a revolution of feeling against the Savoy dynasty. The danger was perceived in time, and by a removal of some of the evils the good will of the people was so far regained that they

promptly answered the call of their sovereign when the invasion of Savoy by the French, on the 27th September, 1792, obliged him to appeal to them to commence and undertake that defence of their island, which he was unable, from his continental wars, to provide.

Such was the neglect and delay shown by the viceroy Balbiano in issuing the orders and making any preparations for the expected attack,—so extraordinary were his private behaviour and public conduct towards the French consul, and his allowing ships of grain and salt to sail for the ports on the Ligurian coast, then occupied by the French, that he was suspected, whether rightly or wrongly, of having indirectly connived at their interests.

The national enthusiasm was, however, so great, that the archbishop, as head of the ecclesiastical, and the nobles, as forming the military Stamento, came forward spontaneously and respectively offered 12,000 scudi (about 2,304*l.*) with the accumulated wealth of their churches, and the pay of 4,000 national guards. But even these voluntary offers failed to elicit from the apathetic viceroy any thing beyond a mere pretence of action; and so little was done to collect troops, repair the fortresses, and procure provisions, that the first efforts of the fleet under Admiral Truguet against San Pietro, January 8, 1793, and St. Antioco on the 14th, were successful, and his bombardment of Cagliari on the 28th, and February 15th might have been equally so had not a violent storm driven him from the roadstead and compelled him to take refuge at Palmas.

The behaviour of the Sardes in defence of their capital, and their skirmishes with the French invaders, were worthy of the spirit with which they had embraced the cause; and a similar gallantry was displayed by

their brothers in arms when defeating Napoleon Buonaparte in his attack on La Madalena in January 1798—an event interesting as having been the commencement of the military career of the young artilleryman.

Disheartened by these failures, the French did not visit the Sarde shores during their revolutionary wars; and this abridgment of their short but severe attack on a nation which had in no way offended them, may be summed up in the words of Manno—“*Per gli stranieri può bastare il sapere, che La Francia possente invase la Sardegna, e che la Sardegna fiacca volle e seppe resisterle.*”

The king, gratified with the allegiance and success of his subjects, bestowed rewards on many of them, but so injudiciously as to excite a general discontent, and his offer to grant whatever national boons they might consider most advantageous, proved only a matter of disappointment. In the assembled Stamenti it was agreed that their demands should be restricted to five, namely, —1st. The convocation of the Cortes every ten years; 2nd. A reconfirmation of their ancient privileges; 3rd. The appointment of natives only to all offices, except that of viceroy; 4th. The creation of a special department for the affairs of the island at Turin; and, 5th. The appointment of a council of state at Cagliari to communicate with the viceroy, and advise in all matters of public import.

These demands, presented by a deputation consisting of two members of each of the three Stamenti, were at first favourably received by the king, who promised that the matter should be referred to commissioners, with whom they should co-operate; but after several months' delay, during which not even a conference took place,

the deputation was dismissed, and the royal refusal was sent to Cagliari without their cognizance. The general feeling of indignation which broke out at the intrigues of the Piedmontese party, who had thus succeeded in preventing the concession of their just demands, gave rise to a revolution which, as an important event in the history of the island, requires a more detailed notice. The narrations of Azuni, Manno, and Mimaut are mainly adopted in the following *précis* of the events.

The Piedmontese officials, far from endeavouring by moderate measures to calm the public mind, increased the irritation by every mark of contempt, insult, and menace,—the Secretary of State having even the imprudence to spread the report that the inhabitants of the kingdom were to be disarmed.

On the 28th April, 1794, the government imagining it could suppress the progress of the agitation at Cagliari arrested several citizens, among whom were two held in high estimation by the people, and who were threatened with immediate execution;—the gates of the city were closed, the drawbridges raised, the garrison summoned to arms, the guards doubled, and the guns of the castle brought to bear on the suburbs. These demonstrations served but to fan the spark into a flame. The people rushed to arms, burst and burnt the gates, put to flight the troops, got possession of the cannon, and disarming the guards, besieged the viceroy in his palace. The fury of the insurgents, who were now masters of the castle and viceroy, was slightly calmed by the release of the two popular citizens; and the influence of several persons of distinction succeeded in restoring order and preventing further excesses.

The people agreed to an entire obedience, on condition that the viceroy and all the Piedmontese, officials or

not, with the exception of the Archbishop of Cagliari and the other prelates, should be sent out of the island ; protesting at the same time their most profound allegiance to the king, and their intention to live under his authority.

The Udienza Reale now composed solely of Sarde members, met immediately afterwards to assume the reins of government ; and in concert with the Stamenti assembled according to the constitution of the kingdom, and the wish of the people, to take measures for the establishment of order.

The Viceroy, escorted by three deputies chosen by the Stamenti, was compelled to embark on the morrow at mid-day, with all the officials and the rest of the Piedmontese in the presence of an immense concourse of people, who behaved with the greatest reserve, and forbore to show under the circumstances the slightest mark of hatred or contempt. The other towns followed the example of the capital ; and in a few days there remained not a single Piedmontese in the island, with the exception of a few bishops, who were considered worthy of the honourable exemption.

The Stamenti, on the 2nd May, despatched to Turin a circumstantial report of all that had occurred ; and as the people, after the departure of the Piedmontese, were perfectly quiet, they demanded of the king his entire oblivion of the untoward events. In his answer, on the 14th, confirming provisionally the Viceregal power in the hands of the Stamenti and Udienza Reale conformably with the laws, until the arrival of the Viceroy, he disapproved of the conduct of the Sardes, and reserving his future intentions till he should have examined into the facts, declared himself disposed to grant a general pardon. The Stamenti, in their remonstrances on the

30th, when complaining loudly of the expression "pardon," and of the conduct of the minister, to whom they justly attributed the insurrection, made their requests for the three following concessions: 1st. That His Majesty should dismiss Graneri, the minister of Sardinia, together with those who had taken part in the obnoxious despatches, and should appoint others according to his pleasure, reserving to themselves at the same time the constitutional right of appeal against the minister. 2nd. That nothing more should be said of the disturbances of the 28th; but that they should be buried in oblivion. 3rd. That His Majesty should deign to grant the five demands already presented by the deputies in the same terms as then expressed, and which would be the sole means of restoring order and tranquillity.

The news of the nomination, on the 1st July, by the king, of four Sardes to four principal appointments of the kingdom, raised hopes that he would accede to their demands; but as this was contrary to the rights of the nation, of presenting their own candidates, and as two of the individuals named were obnoxious to the public, the king was petitioned to suspend the appointment until the Stamenti should have sent in their Rosa, or list of candidates, as proposed by themselves. In adhering to his own nomination, he promised that the appointment should be reserved for the natives, and the Marquis de Planargia and the Chevalier Pitzuolo were accordingly invested as Generale d'Armi and Intendente Generale; but though they, as well as the new Viceroy, the Marquis di Vivalda, were received with every demonstration of joy and welcome on their arrival at Cagliari, on the 6th September, 1794, their measures were so counteracted by various intrigues and

misrepresentations, that the king was again induced to delay the execution of his promises with ambiguous and vacillating excuses. Public discontent again reached a crisis on the 6th July, 1795, when, by a royal ordinance, three judges were appointed to the Udienna Reale without the consent and Rosa of the Stamenti; and the people, on discovering that the Generale d'Armi and Intendente Generale had been instrumental in these measures, and that hostile preparations were made to carry out, at any risk, the orders of the king, proceeded to secure their persons, and, despite the interference of the viceroy and Stamenti in the contest which ensued, sacrificed them to their infuriated vengeance. The Stamenti, without exceeding the bounds of respect due to the king, laid before him a statement of the past events, and published at the same time a vindication of their conduct, supported by other documents, to prove their veracity, and attested by all the members of the three Stamenti.

Anticipating the king's indignation, the Stamenti sent also an embassy to the Pope imploring his mediation on their behalf; and by his efforts and just exposition of the state of affairs, the king, whose ears had hitherto been closed by court intrigues and factious misrepresentations, was induced to sign, on the 8th June, 1796, a diploma, by which he bound himself and his successors to the following agreement. 1st. An entire oblivion of the past revolutionary transactions, with a general amnesty and pardon. 2nd. The periodical assembling of the Cortes every ten years under the presidency of the viceroy, according to the customs and laws of the kingdom. 3rd. A confirmation of their rights relative to the Rosa. 4th. The nomination of natives to the bishoprics. 5th. The exclusive power,

assured in perpetuity to the Sardes, of filling the official situations, with the exception of that of viceroy, who should be nominated by the king. 6th. The establishment of a regular militia, and a Council of State to co-operate with the viceroy, as previously demanded.

Sardinia, restored by this act of justice to the favor of the crown and to the enjoyment of its privileges, testified its joy by public thanks and festivities; and the king appeared on his part willing to execute his promise by convoking the Cortes at the same time under the presidency of the viceroy, and inviting the three orders to take the requisite steps for ensuring the good conduct and happiness of the nation.

While these events were occurring the feudal insurrection broke forth; and the public mind was further excited by dissension between the authorities of the two provinces of Cagliari and Sassari, and the claims of the latter to have a jurisdiction separate from that of the former. The viceroy appointed the Cavaliere Angioy as "Alternos" to reside at Sassari,—a man generally esteemed for his patriotism in the defence of his country against the attacks of the French, as well as for the talents he had displayed as one of the most distinguished judges in the Udienza Reale. Without adopting the anarchical opinions then engrafted into the island by the fatal French Revolution, he stood forward as the champion of the antifeudal party, and with the cognizance of the viceroy, he was at once their leader and controller. In his capacity of Alternos he succeeded in putting down the insurrection of the serfs and settling the differences between the two provinces; but the feudal nobles in the Stamento Militare fearing lest their powers and privileges should be reduced by the measures he proposed for their modification, and the Piedmontese

faction imagining his liberal principles were of a revolutionary character, and that he was only endeavouring to place himself at the head of the government, obtained by their united endeavours his dismissal. In his subsequent persecution he was forced to take arms in self-defence, and the antifeudal party rallying round him, he continued for some time in open defiance of the government, but was eventually compelled to fly from his native shores, which he had so nobly and honorably defended from external aggressions as well as from internal oppression.

The accounts of his career are differently given by different authors, some representing him as a political traitor and conspirator, others as a patriot and victim. Mimaut does not even mention his having taken up arms, while Manno has devoted many pages to the details of his opposition and resistance to the Piedmontese government; but if the omission by the former makes the narrative of a republican movement erroneous, the subserviency of the latter to the court and censor at Turin renders his commentary on the events equally deficient and unjust.

About a year after this insurrection Carlo Emanuele IV. succeeded his father on the throne; but the French, who, by the treaty of 1797, had allowed him to retain part of his continental territories, forced him to surrender the remainder by a convention in 1798. The island still remained to him as a refuge and asylum, and while at Leghorn he received a deputation from the Stamenti to escort him to Cagliari, where, together with his family he arrived protected by an English frigate* on the 3rd

* Lord Nelson, in a letter to Earl St. Vincent, thus speaks of the circumstance:—"Captain Louis had been requested to allow the *Terpsichore* to go, as if by accident, in company with the

March, 1799, and was received with every demonstration of enthusiasm and welcome.

The measures he adopted in his external relations, nullifying and revoking in the course of a few months the solemn conventions he had so lately signed on his resignation of the Piedmontese throne to the French,* were followed by an equally sudden change of policy in the government of the island.

His natural character, by no means firm, but amiable and mild, had been so changed by the hardships he had undergone, and embittered by the unjust treatment he had received under the French revolution, that the abhorrence of every thought and measure of a liberal tendency now caused him to adopt a very different course to that of his predecessor. While the feudal barons were supported in those oppressive privileges and exactions which had but so lately roused the people into open rebellion, the contributions, imposts, and taxes, real and personal, direct and indirect, were increased to meet the rapid exhaustion of the treasury. His next steps were the revocation of that noble and liberal diploma issued by his father on the 8th June, 1796, and which on his accession to the throne he had sworn to maintain in all its integrity; the abolition of the Council of State, the closing of the Stamenti, and a

vessel; for to such a state of degradation is this monarch reduced, that he dared not publicly accept the offered protection of the British flag."—Vide Sir H. Nicolas's *Dispatches*, vol. iii. p. 264.

* He thus signed the deed of abdication and surrender to the French:—"Accepté et décrété par moi Charles Emanuele;" and being pressed by Joubert, he wrote also, "Je promets de n'apporter aucun obstacle au présent acte." His brother and heir, Vittorio Emanuele, was then compelled to subscribe his own submission and adherence to the terms:—"Je garantis que je ne porterai aucun empêchement à l'exécution du présent acte."

renewal of the former abuses which existed in the various departments of the government.

The Sardes raised no opposition to his nominating the members of the royal family to the principal civil and military offices ; but a general murmur arose at the appointments conferred on the Piedmontese, who accompanied him in his exile ; and by whose preponderating influence the late disturbances in the island were brought forward as crimes, in spite of the amnesty of 1796, the offenders punished, the partisans of Angioy, and others supposed to have been imbued with liberal opinions, imprisoned ; and many of those who had returned to their homes on the faith of that amnesty suffered capital punishment, while others, fearing the proscription, fled to Italy and France for safety.

With these harsh measures came a reciprocal feeling of disaffection on the part of the people ; but the king was spared the pain of witnessing any outbreak, as he left the island with the intention of returning to his continental dominions to reassume the reins of government, after the defeat of the French by Suwarrow. Having appointed his brothers Carlo Felice Duc de Genevois, and Giuseppe Count de Maurienne, Viceroy and Governor-General of the northern province, he left the island in the *Foudroyant*, one of the ships of Lord Nelson's fleet, on the 22nd September, 1799, accompanied by his Queen Clothilde and his brother Vittorio Emanuele, Duke D'Aosta ; but he never reached his kingdom, as the battle of Marengo, on the 14th June, 1800, determined his fate ; and this unhappy king—to use the words of Mimaute—"devenu le jouet de la politique de ses amis et de la fortune qui le persécutait, habitait successivement Florence, Rome, et Naples, suivant que lui permettait la rapidité con-

vulsive des événements dont l'Italie était alors le théâtre."

In March, 1802, his queen, his only remaining solace and happiness, was taken from him; and this last blow, added to the hardships and persecutions he had experienced, and the knowledge that intrigues and disaffection were rising among the Sardes, induced him to abdicate his "corona di spine," as he termed it, to his brother Vittorio Emanuele on the 4th June following; from which period he lived in seclusion at Rome, surrounded only by the Jesuits, of whose order he became a member in 1815, and in whose monastery he died on the 6th October, 1819.

With a mind adapted to the cowl, rather than the crown, his admission into that order, though qualified on certain points of conformity with its rules, was an evidence of the effects of the early education he had received from Cardinal Gerdil. Coppi, speaking of these circumstances, in the spring of 1815, says, * "Abbracciò l'istituto della compagnia di Gesù. Fece però soltanto i voti semplici, i quali in sostanza sono una promessa di entrare nella compagnia; ma si concertò la cosa in modo che continuasse a vivere con modesta corte come usava per lo innanzi, e potesse possedere e testare."

His character has thus been tersely summed up by Rabbe:† "L'éducation monacale qu'il avait reçue, ayant étouffé en lui le germe de toute résolution énergique, sa faiblesse morale rendit inutiles la candeur et la bonté de son âme."

Vittorio Emanuele soon began to find the crown as thorny a garland as his brother had done; for the French having advanced to Italy on the renewal of the

* Annali d'Italia, vol. vii. 128.

† Biographie Universelle.

war, after the peace of Amiens, he was compelled to leave Naples, whither he had gone, and proceed to Cagliari. He arrived there on the 17th February, 1806; and during his residence he succeeded in carrying out a few beneficial measures, but failed in many; for his good intentions were so injudiciously attempted that the anticipated results were nullified. So many grievances remained, and so many were increased by the Piedmontese influence, and the pressure of taxes and contributions, that the popular feelings were again roused; and a well organised conspiracy was formed in 1813 to seize and carry off not only the Piedmontese who had obtained so many official appointments, but those also immediately around the king's person. Fortunately it was discovered, the offenders punished, and the warning to the king was not without effect; for when he returned to Turin to take possession of his throne, in 1814, the Piedmontese satellites accompanied him to their country, and their vacated offices were once more filled by natives. His wife, Marie Thérèse, to whom he had entrusted the reins of government, acted as vice-regent till her return to the continent in 1815; when Carlo Felice resumed the vice-regal authority, till he joined the royal family in the following year; and, except the repeated attacks of the Tunisian corsairs, a rebellion in the Gallura province in 1819, and a general prohibition to carry arms, little occurred in the island.

After the peace of 1814, his reign became such a monotonous endeavour to restore the ancient régime of his disturbed kingdom, that his public and private measures might be condensed in a well-known anecdote, —thus given by Von Raumer: “After the restoration, in 1814, Vittorio Emanuele asked, in great anxiety,

‘What was to be done?’ ‘For sevenpence, sire,’ replied an old legitimist minister, ‘your majesty may put everything into the best order immediately. Buy an old state calendar for the year 1790, and replace all as you find it there;’—and this wise counsel was literally followed!

One of his earliest laws was to dispossess the Jews of their property, and confine them solely to employments connected with the soil, and with the exception of a census of the population, a reorganisation of the army, and an examination of the national debt, his home policy was as valueless as his foreign was unimportant. In 1820, however, he was induced, by the representations of his ministers, to assent to a revision of the laws; but the concession was then too late, for the clouds of the approaching revolutionary storm had already darkened the horizon. The insurrection of Naples had given strength to the demands and discontent of the Piedmontese, the enlightened portion of whom had become clamorous against his retrograde legislation, “*un rajeunissement*,” as is well observed,* “*d’institutions faites pour un autre âge et désaccordées par la marche du temps qui ravit à chaque époque, à mesure qu’elle s’écoule, son harmonie et sa vertu.*” Absolutism and centralisation were the mainsprings of his policy; even the priests were converted into spies and informers; and the Jesuits made the confessional subservient to political purposes. But a natural generosity of feeling had so tempered his sway; that even those, who, seeking for national liberty and Italian independence, were averse to his form of government, nevertheless acknowledged his private virtues and regarded him personally with respect. They too, who had been injured and exasperated at the reign of un-

* *Tableau de l’Histoire Generale de l’Europe.*

limited despotism in the internal affairs of their country no less than by the thralldom of Austria at their gates since 1814, had been restrained from any outbreak by the smallness of their numbers in comparison to that of the Imperial troops, and by the generally tranquil character of their countrymen. At the commencement of the year 1821 secret societies were formed, private meetings were held, pamphlets were circulated, and the national feeling had, by various other steps, made a steady advance in the demands for a constitution. The more liberal party considered the moment for action had arrived, as the Austrians had marched to annihilate the independance of the Two Sicilies, and calculated that if the Neapolitans would only keep them at bay for a short time, Piedmont might make herself mistress of Lombardy. It is not here proposed to enter into the details of the well known events which immediately ensued, and the participation in them by the present monarch, who, as Prince of Carignano and Regent for a few days, advocated and proclaimed the Spanish constitution ; but, on the 12th March, after the Italian banner of liberty had floated on the walls of Turin, Vittorio Emanuele abdicated in favour of his brother Carlo Felice, Duke of Genevois, partly through fear and partly from a regard to the fatal promise he made to the House of Austria, never to give the Piedmontese any liberal institutions ; a promise which was, as Count Santa Rosa observes, “ la plus grande justification que les auteurs de la révolution Piedmontese puissent présenter à l’Europe et à la postérité.” By his marriage with Maria Teresa, sister of the Duke of Modena, his connection with the House of Austria prevented his adopting that policy towards his subjects, which would have saved him from his disasters ; and in inheriting the crown from his brother,

he was heir also to his inability to meet adversity, and following the example of his abdication, he lived in retirement till his death in 1824.

Carlo Felice, on receiving the intelligence of his brother's resignation of the crown, issued a proclamation, dictated by the Duke of Modena, with whom he was then living, in which he announced to the Constitution-
alists his unmitigated adherence to the old regime; "that so far from consenting to any change whatsoever in the pre-existing form of government, he saw rebellion and revolution in every encroachment upon the plenitude of his royal authority."

On his accession he immediately re-established the rule of absolutism under Austrian influence and coercion; and his first acts were the condemnation to death or to the galleys of the principal conspirators, the confiscation of the property of a large number of the participants in the constitutional cause, the entire abolition of the liberty of the press, the closing the university and colleges of Turin and Genoa, the restoration of the Jesuits to the fullest powers, the confiding all education to their hands, and various measures of a similar character.

The most remarkable acts during his subsequent reign till his death in 1831 are the revision of the codes of the civil and criminal laws of Sardinia, the reconstitution and endowment of the *Accademia delle Scienze* at Turin, the establishment of diplomatic intercourse and alliance with the Ottoman Porte, the expeditions against the Bey of Tunis, and treaties with the Emperor of Morocco.

From his experience and knowledge of his Sardinian subjects, acquired during his residence in the island as viceroy, he effected much for their moral welfare, though

without any extensive or systematic reform in the abuses which still existed.

During his viceregal administration overtures were made by the Sarde refugees to the French to reattempt the conquest of the island; but, though the tricolor might have enlisted a large force of partisans, the negotiation dropped, and their extensive schemes and plans were never put into execution.

The continual rebellion against the feudal barons in 1800, with several minor conspiracies, contributed to harass him, but his generally quiet and timid policy gained him the character of a mild and good monarch.

He died on the 27th of April 1831, and was succeeded by Carlo Alberto, Prince of Carignano, who, since his return from Spain, had remained in privacy, a quiet spectator of the few events which had occurred since 1821. Though time had modified the adverse feelings which his early conduct had excited, and the retirement of his life had shewn him under brighter colors, his accession to the throne on the 27th of April 1831 was marked with mistrust, and an absence of those demonstrations of rejoicing which welcome a new and approved monarch. With some exceptions he continued the policy and usages of his predecessors, and so succeeded in carrying out his plans that the innumerable Editti, Pregoni, and Leggi, from the edict for the subversion of the feudal system to that for fixing a barber's fee for bleeding, burst suddenly into light without previous smoke or flame, and were promulgated as the paternal response to the national demand. The form of laws and government, elsewhere mentioned, will convey their own character, based on hereditary absolutism and centralisation; but the mere administration of them is nowhere better carried out than in Piedmont; its machinery

is equal to, in some respects better than that of France and Austria, and a systematic order reigns throughout every department, though subject to abuse in the execution.

It has been stated that his Piedmontese, Savoy, and Sarde states do not possess the elements of a constitutional government; that there is not a sufficiently powerful intermediate class between the sovereign and the people to balance their respective weights, and that consequently the only form yet suited to them is an administrative monarchy;—to which assertion it has been replied, that these deficiencies are the effects of the very fetters still imposed on all classes. The nobility as a body are brave, fond of a military life, but less excitable than those of other Italian states. Excellent officers, eminent lawyers, and political economists are not wanting; enterprise and activity are quartered in the escutcheon of the Ligurian coast; but these talents and capabilities are never allowed to have full development. Piedmont, by its position, might be the sword and shield of Italian independence. It is the only state with a good military organisation; her population, now amounting to upwards of five millions, is rapidly increasing; her arsenals are richly stored, 600 pieces of heavy artillery, 400,000 muskets, 6,000 cavalry, 51,000 infantry, and a reserve of 85,000 men; a fleet of four ships of the line, five frigates, and sixty small vessels, are available at the call of the sovereign. She has no debts, and her finances are managed with an intelligent economy. But Carlo Alberto is embarrassed between the concession of those political privileges which would endanger the irresponsibility of his will, and the necessity of yielding them as a national defence against the dangers of external aggression. His mercurial liberality rises in the diplomatic thermometer when Austrian inter-

ference warms the political atmosphere, and falls when constitutional principles chill and check his absolutism. He warns and encourages the other Italian states with the words he feels equally applicable to himself:

“Gens eadem quæ te crudeli Daunia* bello
Insequitur, nos si pellant, nihil adfore credent
Quin totam Hesperiam penitus sua subjugâ mittant,
Et mare quod supra teneant quodque alluit infrâ.
Accipe daque fidem : sunt nobis fortia bello
Pectora, sunt animi, et rebus spectata juventus.”

Æneid viii.

He aids and abets the Papal See in opposition to their common enemy, and alludes to such reforms as will rally his subjects around him under the banner of independence and liberty, which he has for the second time unfurled ; but time only can prove whether the external aggrandisement of Lombardy is the real object ; if the defensive is the pretext for the offensive ; and whether he calculates, like his predecessor Vittorio Amadeo II., on swallowing the petty states of Italy, “leaf by leaf like an artichoke.” If we may not rely on his patriotism, we may upon his ambition. With a curiously contradictory compound of tenacity of self-will and versatility, with external ambition and internal irresolution, it has been remarked of him, that, “he has not one fault which might not be turned to account for Italy, and that if human prudence forbids us to place reliance on his promise, it allows us to calculate upon what is his own interest, as he is the last man in the world to prove false to the destinies of his race.” If we look to the causes of the policy he has adopted in so many instances, we may find much exculpation for the past, if not hope of amelioration for the future. The thralldom of

* *Lege Austria.*

the Jesuits has hitherto caused a perplexity and vacillation in his intentions ; and such has been the paramount influence of Austria in checking political independence and constitutional measures, that in the extension of the liberty of the press, the modification of the commercial tariffs, the institution of a national guard,—and even in the formation of railways, the liberal ministers of the king have been thwarted by the preponderating voices of those of the Metternich school in the cabinet.

But notwithstanding these restraints, Carlo Alberto has effected more salutary measures than any of his predecessors ; and on the policy he has commenced and is said to be willing to extend, depend not only his own interests and the welfare of his kingdom, but those of the whole of Italy.

May he prove the separation of the Prince of Carignano from the King of Sardinia, and refute the saying uttered 470 years since by one of the Giudici of the island to the Duke of Anjou,—“ *Qui semel malus semper presumitur esse malus* ;” may he act on the advice of his predecessor Vittorio Amadeo II.,—“ *N’ayez jamais de confesseur Jésuite*,” and thereby allow that innate goodness which is said to have distinguished him in many private transactions of his life to guide his public conduct, and strengthen the political fortunes of the House of Savoy.

CHAPTER I.

PROVINCE OF ALGHERO.

From Genoa to Porto Torres, on the North Coast of the Island.
 —Coasting round to Alghero.—The Headlands.—Nautilus.—
 Disembarkation and Reception of the Bishop.—History of the
 City.—Forests of Sardinia.—Produce of the Province of Alg-
 hero. — Want of Education. — The Fortifications. — Sarde
 “Intemperie.” — Unhealthiness of the Island. — The City
 Authorities. — The Cathedral. — Relics. — Churches. — Pic-
 tures. — Monasteries. — Hospital. — Prison. — Archives.—Pri-
 vileges of the City. — Catalan MS. — Visit of Charles V.
 to Alghero in 1541.—Mole and Shipping.—Coral Trade.—The
 Fishermen.—Anecdote of the King.—Sardines.—Anchovies.—
 Pinna Marina. — Cheapness of Provisions. — Margalions. —
 Wines.—Mode of preparing the “Zibibo.”—Algherese Society.
 —Their Hatred of the Sassaresi.—Popular Song.—Learning.—
 Lo Frasso.—Poetry.—The Opera.—Lord Nelson’s Remarks
 on Alghero.—Festa of Valverde.—Costumes.—Legends and
 Amusements.—Puttifigari.—Dangers of Travelling.—Fuorusciti
 and Banditi.—Anecdote of the Marchese di Boyl and Pepe
 Bonu. — Arrival of the King at Alghero. — Ball. — His Visit
 to the Antro di Nettuno.—Observations on the Grotto.—Com-
 parison with other Stalactitic Caverns.—La Grotta del Altare.

I LEFT Genoa in one of the government steamers run-
 ning alternately to Porto Torres and Cagliari, but which,
 though considered as ships of war, are used as public
 packets, and I was much indebted to the officers for their
 urbanity and kindness, not only during the passage, but
 on subsequent occasions during my stay in the island.*

* The steamers run from Genoa to Cagliari, and from Porto
 Torres to Genoa, on the 1st and 16th, and from Genoa to Torres,
 and from Cagliari to Genoa, on the 8th and 24th of every month.

On arriving at Porto Torres the passengers were landed, and, having been favored with the permission of the admiral at Genoa, I proceeded in the vessel to Alghero, to which place it had been specially ordered to convey the bishop of that diocese.

Having rounded the island of Asinara, we coasted along a shore remarkable for the beauty and boldness of its headlands, among which are the Capo del Falcone, the north-west promontory of the island (the Gorditanum Promontorium of Ptolemy), and Capo Negretto at the foot of the Nurra range of mountains; near to which was the ancient *Tilium Civitas*, though its remains are scarcely traceable.

Capo dell Argentiera, the highest and most westerly point of the island, is upwards of 2,000 feet above the level of the sea; and the whole of this western coast has from thirty to forty fathoms of water within a mile of the shore. Some thirty Neapolitan boats in the offing had commenced the coral fishery, and in their form and cut of their sails resembled the nautilus, numbers of which were basking around us and spreading their transparent canvass to the light breeze, which scarcely ruffled the deep blue sea. Shoals of dolphins occasionally "bared their backs of gold," and made those timid, fragile wanderers of the ocean appear and disappear from the surface; while thousands of sea-birds, floating and flying about us, gave a cheerful animation and voice to the surrounding beauties of nature.

After doubling Capo della Caccia, a perpendicular mass of limestone, (175 metres 26 ctr. or) 575 feet high, according to La Marmora, and 500 feet according to Smyth, we passed the spacious harbour of Porto Conte—the ancient *Nymphæus Portus*—and which

Smyth, in describing its excellent position, says is perfectly safe for frigates, though exposed to the S.W. winds.

During the voyage I became acquainted with the bishop, a well-informed and agreeable man, who, after passing many years in Greece, Turkey, and Wallachia, where he filled some high ecclesiastical offices, had been lately appointed to the bishopric of his native town; and his return after so long an absence was an event of no less interest to himself than to his fellow citizens—one of the *dies fasti* of Alghero. As soon as we had anchored, several boat-loads of priests came on board, who, after many amusing formalities, received the high honor of kissing his hand in exchange for sundry acts of genuflexion and self-abasement.

When everything was duly arranged he embarked with the ecclesiastical deputation, dressed in a long purple robe, large triangular hat, with a green ribbon bow, and a massive gold chain round his neck, to which was attached a gold crucifix. His fine figure and handsome features were set off by a long dark beard, which, as a custom of the oriental church, he had allowed to grow, and which, with no less adoption of orientalism, he continually was stroking and smoothing. The authorities of the town received him with due pomp and ceremony; the streets were crowded with the populace, all scrambling to obtain his blessings; and the avidity with which they were received was only to be equalled by the profuse liberality with which they were bestowed.

I returned from Alghero to Porto Torres by the steamer, but visited it on several other occasions.

The name Alghero, from the Sarde word “S’Alighera,” and the Catalan “El Alguer,” are both derived

from the Latin *alga*, the sea-weed which accumulates in great quantities on the shore. The town, founded by the Doria family in 1102, and fortified by them to resist the attacks of the Pisans, who ravaged Sardinia after their successes in Corsica during their wars against the Genoese, remained for two centuries and a half in the possession of that illustrious family, except for a short period in 1283, when the Pisans besieged it and obliged the inhabitants to capitulate. In 1350, a family dissention having arisen, and part of them having sold their rights and possessions to Don Pedro IV., King of Aragon, an intestine war ensued; and the Doge of Genoa, assuming the protectorate, sent a governor to preside over the town. But Pedro, finding this alliance of the Algherese strengthened by the intrigues of the Doria, and the assistance of Mariano, Giudice of Arborea, sent, in 1353, a naval and military force, consisting of forty-five vessels and five large transports, under Bernardo di Cabrera against Alghero, where, joined by his allies, the Venetians, with a fleet of twenty galleys, and by a land force under the governor of the island, he commenced the siege of the city. The Genoese fleet, consisting of sixty vessels, commanded by Antonio Grimaldi, met their enemies in the waters of Porto Conte, where, after a severe conflict sustained with equal zeal on both sides, Cabrera gained one of the most signal victories of the age. The Genoese lost thirty-three vessels, 3,000 prisoners, and 8,000 killed; and so fatal a day was it to Genoa and the Ligurian shores that scarcely a family had not to mourn the loss of one of its members. The Algherese on the defeat of their allies surrendered at discretion, and the Aragon standard waved triumphantly on the fortifications; but on the departure of Cabrera the inhabitants immediately rose

against and murdered their new rulers. Don Pedro, resolved on revenge, returned in the following year, 1354, with a fresh armament, composed of 1000 heavy and 500 light armed troops, and 10,000 infantry, besides many followers of high rank from England and Germany, and proceeded to besiege the town with ninety ships. For four months his efforts were ineffectual, though all the machines of war used in those days were applied. His moveable towers and projectiles had destroyed all but two of the towers of the fortifications, yet the Algherese, with a force of only 700 men, still held out. Don Pedro, hearing that Mariano, Giudice of Arborea, was at hand to relieve the besieged with a force of 2000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry—seeing that his own army were dying rapidly of fever and intemperie (and of which he himself had been a sufferer,) and finding that his provisions were failing, entered into terms with his opponents. The conditions were, that Alghero should open its gates to the Aragonese, and that the Doria and Genoese party should leave it under guarantee of their personal safety, being allowed to retain their possessions in other parts of the island. From this period Alghero became essentially Catalanian in its character, as the king re-populated it with colonies from that country, so numerous that it was called Barcelonetta.

In 1374, the Genoese, the allies of Mariano, Giudice of Arborea, and consequently opposed to the Aragon dominion, attacked the town with forty ships; but Brancalone Doria, attached to the Aragon party, bravely defended it.

In 1397, Don Martino, King of Aragon, and in 1408, Don Martino, his son, stayed some time in the town during the preparation for their wars against the

rivals for the Giudicato of Arborea. In 1412, the Visconte di Narbonna, who had been chosen Giudice of Arborea, and opposed the Aragon sway, sent, during a truce, a small force of 300 horse and 150 slingers to attack the town at night. They succeeded in scaling the walls; but, being discovered, the populace rose to the general war and alarm cry of "Aragona, Aragona!" and they were driven to the Torre del Sperone as a last hold, where, at the moment of their being burnt to death, they surrendered, and were all put to the sword, except their leader, a natural son of Amadeo VII. of Savoy, who was spared till the following day, when he was publicly beheaded. Two modern historians, living subjects of the King of Sardinia, have, with courteous loyalty to their sovereign, omitted the name of this ancestor! One of them speaks of him merely as the "Capitano" of the expedition—without any allusion to his origin; the other calls him "un avventuriere di gran conto che portava il nome di una gran' casa Italiana." Alghero, though depopulated by plague and sickness, increased in size and importance by the various colonies sent from Catalonia, and on whom peculiar privileges were conferred. In 1504, Ferdinand II., by diploma, raised it from the rank of *villa* to the dignity of Ciudad. The arrival and sojourn of the Emperor Charles V., in 1541, in his second expedition to Algiers, is one of the memorabilia. In 1644, the French endeavoured to get possession of the town, but the ship of war attacking it was captured by the inhabitants; and from that period till 1821 its annals offer nothing of any interest. An outbreak occurred in that year from the scarcity of provisions, caused by the mismanagement of the Piedmontese authorities; and the magazines being broken into, and the usual

violences committed, a large number of the offenders suffered the punishment of death.

The province, of which Alghero is the capital, is about 536 miles square; and, according to a calculation made in 1834, contains 31,402 souls. Two-thirds of the territory are mountainous, and not above one-sixth of the whole is cultivated, though naturally fertile; and the pasturage is equally neglected. In comparison to other parts of the island, there is little timber of any magnitude, except in the districts between Alghero and Bosa. As the forests are a very important part of the riches, as well as beauty, of the country, in a commercial point of view, they claim the attention of foreign nations. One-fifth of the island is covered with them, according to some statements; though La Marmora calculated it at a sixth only. The southern part is comparatively barren, in proportion to the northern, owing to the difference of soil and climate; and the provinces of Gallura, Barbagia, Ogliastra, and the Goceano districts are the best clad with them, both in quantity and quality. The traveller cannot fail to observe in all parts the extreme neglect and constant damage to which they are subject from the unrestrained licence of the shepherds, and heedless ignorance of the individuals who have the petty contracts for cutting the wood; proving the ridiculous system under which the Sardinian government acts, and how little profit arises from either the royal or private forests by the maladministration and evasion of the laws. The oak, the ilex, the cork, and chestnut, are the principal trees; and of the first mentioned, the species known to us as the *quercus sessiliflora* is the most common. It is there called frequently the *quercia bianca*, from its silvery green or palish medullary rays, and is next to our own British oak (the *quercus pe-*

dunculata), the best for ship-building, as combining all the requisite qualities of compactness, resistance of cleavage, and lightness. There are several other kinds of oak—judging from the difference of foliage, but I am unable to state their species or to classify them. After the ilex, the ballota, the quercus gramuntia of Linnæus, is the most numerous of the tribe, and appeared to me more abundant than in Spain. Captain Cook, in his sketches on that country, thus speaks of it: * “It is distinct from the ilex, as its leaves are thicker, more rounded at the point, of a dull glaucous green, and more compact in general outline. The essential difference consists in the acorns, which are edible, and said to be as good as chestnuts. They must be kept, to lose the tannin taste they have, and which, when gone, leaves a sweetness in them. These are the edible acorns of the ancients, which they believed fattened the tunny fish in their passage from the ocean to the Mediterranean,—a fable only proving that they grew on the shores,—which is no longer the case.”

The acorn of the Ballota (the Spanish generic name for acorn) is eaten in Sardinia as well as in Spain; and it is of this species that Cervantes speaks, when Teresa, the wife of Sancho sent them to the duchess; and in both countries the herds of swine fed upon them are celebrated for the delicious flavour of their meat.

Of the cork tree, several particulars are given elsewhere. The chestnut, though abundant, is not generally as fine or numerous as in Sicily; beech, ash, and elm are rare in comparison to the other trees, and the fir is not found in more than two or three places, such as the Monte Pino in Gallura and the shores of the Flumini

* Vol. ii. p. 245.

Majori in the Iglesias district. In extent of forest and quality of timber, Sardinia has the advantage over Spain, where the oak, especially the better species in the northern provinces, is become scarce and difficult to obtain, and the trade, if properly attended to, would be no less profitable to the island, than beneficial to this and other maritime countries. Many obstacles might be found in establishing it, for the same jealousy which prevents the Sardinian government allowing foreign capital and enterprise to work their mines, would extend probably to the renting and cutting their forests, and be attended with the same inquisitorial interference.

The want of roads and proper transport, though now a serious difficulty might be easily remedied ; optional paths and rude trains, which on the average take about 100 cubic feet of timber, being the only means now in use. The export duty on timber in short pieces for building, is two per cent., when in its rough state or simply squared fifteen per cent. The attention of the English government has been called to the importance of this trade ; and a speedy arrangement for any contract or enterprise is necessary, as a few years continuance of the present system of destruction of the forests, will deprive the island of its present abundance and superiority over every other part of the Mediterranean. Replanting where there has been a fall of timber is an idea which does not seem to have entered the heads of the Sardes ; the young wood being of a natural growth, and not regularly planted.

The chief productions of the province are corn, wine, oil and skins, the exportation of which is small ; and the coral fishery, the most important of all the trades, is carried on by the Neapolitans and Genoese. There are no manufactures of any kind, industry being as a Sarde

author well observed “*poco men che nulla* ;” the few mechanical operations are of the lowest and roughest description, and merely for the simplest necessities of life. The education of the people is so neglected, that it was calculated in the population of nearly 32,000, where the number between six and twelve years old was 1900, that not 150 attended the schools; while in the adult rural population, which has not had even the advantage of the present miserable system of education, not one in sixty can read or write. The moral character of the people is not much better than the intellectual. The principal crimes are vendetta, burning underwood, and theft. The first is mentioned elsewhere; the second arises from want of pasturage; and the last consists in a system of reciprocal robbery of cattle while wandering in the lonely districts. It has been stated that the value of stolen cattle amounts annually to 5000 lire nove, or 200*l.*; but this I was assured was infinitely below the positive sum. As a sheep may be bought in the rural districts for five lire n., 4*s.* and a fine heifer for thirty lire n., 1*l.* 14*s.*, the extent of the robberies may be easily imagined. The proportion of those apprehended for the commission of these and other crimes is very small; there are not above fifty in the prison, for if detected they escape to the mountains.

The town of Alghero situated on a little rocky promontory washed on three sides by the sea, and about a mile and a quarter in circumference, is surrounded by ramparts in a neglected though not dilapidated state; and their *matériel* consists of about forty old guns, ten of which are mounted and in a very bad condition; the rest lying about in the grass and weeds which have grown round them. These ramparts are an agreeable promenade, especially on the sea side where the view is

very fine. The perpendicular Capo della Caccia to the N. W. is a beautiful object, while the Nurra mountains to the north form a bold outline and horizon to the bay beneath. There are several very strong towers in different parts of the fortifications, the principal of which are the Dello Sperone, di Montalbano, di San Giacomo, della Madalena, del Molo, and the Porto Terra ; which two latter are the entrances to the town. Some of the streets are broad and well paved, but the generality of them narrow ; the houses small and well built, no more deserve the name of palaces, which some of them claim, than the few open spaces are worthy the title of piazza,

The evidences of the Catalanian influence are fewer than might be expected, except in the language and the formation of the houses, of which the windows and balconies especially reminded me of those of Barcelona ; but the costume is essentially Sarde, the chaqueta, calzons and manta of the Catalanians being unknown.

The population of the town, according to the census which has just been completed, though not published, amounted to 8112 ; the number of houses to 717, with 1778 families ; or two and a half families, of five souls each, to every house ; and as no houses are allowed to be built outside the walls, there is a scarcity of lodging and consequent inconvenience and confusion. In comparison with other parts of Sardinia the sanitary state of the people is considered good, there being but little intemperie ; but inflammation of the chest, pleurisy and ague, caused by the Caliche marsh in the vicinity, are very prevalent. Longevity is rare, and according to the statistical returns there are only 376 people between sixty and seventy years of age, 128 between seventy and eighty in the whole population, and the greatest mortality occurs between forty and fifty. The *intemperie*

having been mentioned we may here in explanation of it allude to the climate, and especially to that insalubrity so constantly spoken of by the ancients and confirmed by modern authors.

Strabo says,* “The excellence of the soil is counter-balanced by the misfortune that the island is unhealthy in summer, and most especially in those parts which are the most fertile.” Cicero,† in a letter to Fabius Gallus, expressing his hatred of Tigellius, calls him “a man more pestilential than his country.” Silius Italicus,‡ in mentioning its merits, makes the exception, “but wretched in climate, and polluted by its marshes.” Martial§ uses the word Sardinia as a synonyme for death; Pomponius Mela|| says, “in other respects Sardinia is fertile, of better soil than climate, and almost as pestiferous as it is productive;” Tacitus,¶ in speaking of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome to the island, incidentally observes, “and if they should die of the unhealthiness of the climate, it would only be a paltry loss;” Pausanias** imagined the mountains on the northern parts a barrier against the influence of fresh air, and the evaporations arising from salt marshes to be causes of the badness of the climate; and Claudian†† also entertained a similar notion, “The sailor execrates the unhealthy mountains;—thence the destruction of them and of cattle, thence the pestiferous atmosphere rages, and the south winds prevail, from the north winds being excluded.” It would be tedious to enumerate the statements of modern authors in corroboration of its general insalubrity; but it may be observed that it is subject to cool winds in summer and warm in winter; that the

* Lib. v.

† Epist. ad Fam lib. vii. Epist. 24.

‡ Lib. xii. v. 371.

§ Epigr. lib. iii.

|| Lib. ii. chap. vii.

¶ Ann. lib. vii.

** Lib. x. ch. 17.

†† Bell. Gild. v. 515.

climate is mild for the latitude, though varying, as in other countries, according to local circumstances, and that the temperature at Cagliari, on a three years' average, was at 75° Fahrenheit in the summer, and 53° in the winter.

It seldom rains during the month of January; the atmosphere is then soft and serene, and called the *Secchi di Gennajo*—the halcyon days of the ancients. February on the contrary, is so wet and changeable that it has the proverb of inconstancy—"Fiargius facies facies,"—"February has two faces." From March to Midsummer is the best season, and after that period those who had left the towns to enjoy the country return back, nor leave them till the following year. The intense summer heat continues till October, when the south-west and north-east winds bring up the rains, and mild temperate weather finishes the year.

The Maestrale and Levante, the north-west and south-east winds are the most injurious; the one burning up vegetation by its arid heat, the other, like the sirocco, oppresses both animate and inanimate creation, with its close suffocating dampness. The *mezzo-giorno*, or mid-day breeze, here called the *imbattu*, generally lasting from 10 A. M. to 2 P. M. extends for several miles into the interior, and the land-breeze called *rampinu*, rising after sunset, continues during the night.

Intemperie, the generic term for the malady which is the peculiar scourge of the country, Forcellini interprets as "*Malam rerum mixtarum temperaturam, ut intemperies cœli, cum aer immoderatè aut calidus aut frigidus aut humidus aut siccus est,*"—"The unwholesome temperature of mixed substances, as the intemperies of atmosphere when the air is immoderately hot or cold, or moist or dry." The greater part of the uneducated

Sardes, confounding cause with effect, consider it a kind of aboriginal disease ; or, if sufficiently enlightened to trace it to any cause, they carefully avoid that which would reflect on their own ignorance and indolence. We have no specific word in English for intemperie ; but in its character it seems to be an irregular combination of the varied forms of ague and fever, producing different effects according to the idiosyncrasy of the patient. It is malaria and something more, and has no positive and distinctive types by which it can be ranked under any one particular class of the five forms of ague. Gastric fever, congestions of various organs, headaches, sickness, sudden and alternate heat and chill, extreme prostration of both mental and physical powers are more or less the concomitants, if not the ingredients, of intemperie ; but its diagnosis is varied, and this malaria is not always evidenced as in other countries by swollen bodies, wan visages, and the other usual concomitants ; but the robust and apparently healthy, no less than the pale and emaciated, describe symptoms which are forms of fever and ague, though not indicated by their appearance.

Among the many works published on the subject the latest is by Professor Sachero, a medical man, who resided and practised for some years in the island ; but the result of his investigation throws no light, beyond confirming the rational opinion, that it is malaria producing intermittent and low fevers in their varied and worst forms, caused by the stagnant waters, the great difference between the nocturnal and diurnal temperature, the heavy dews and fogs, and the rapid decomposition of vegetable matter by the intense heat of the atmosphere, all which arise from the two great sources of evil, the want of cultivation and drainage of the soil.

Sarde intemperie is, in fact, a concentrated essence of Caliban's curse on Prospero,—

“ All the infections that the sun sucks up,
From bogs, fens, flats . . . make him
By inch-meal a disease.”

It has been argued that it is not confined to the marshy and undrained lands, but exists also in the high and volcanic districts, where there is no subsidence and subsequent evaporation of water, or much decomposition of vegetable matter; to which it may be answered, that the miasmatic influence of the adjacent soils of a different character are sufficient to affect the atmosphere for miles around; and that there are in Sardinia no districts of a volcanic nature unhealthy except those which have a different stratum within a moderate distance. That the deleterious gases emitted from the hydro-sulphurous and hydro-carbonic springs in volcanic formations, as well as from the stratum when acted on by solar heat, should affect the human frame, is very natural; but that the results are intermittent, and other fevers of a similar character to those produced by marshes and undrained soils, is unproved. Again, the Mediterranean being a tideless sea, has been accused of contributing to, if not causing intemperie; but how is it that in several littoral districts, which have been drained and cultivated, it has diminished to an extraordinary extent?

The observations of Captain Smyth confirm the received opinion that its baneful influence is not confined to the human race. “Exhalations, it appears, are the principal cause of intemperie, and it is evident they might be decreased by cultivating the *macchie*, draining the marshes, and confining the rivers to their beds, thus converting many a dreary waste into smiling corn fields and vineyards; bearing in mind, however, that grounds

being merely cleared and not planted, so far from correcting the evil are thereby deprived of the natural absorption of a portion of their miasma. Many Sardes entertain a notion that the green figs of an infected district imbibe and evolve the deleterious principle of intemperie; it is, therefore, customary in the markets to express the place of their growth on the baskets. The viceroy himself advised me to be particularly careful in prohibiting my seamen from eating the fruit of the delicious vale of Pula; nor, when the known quality of the fig-tree for intenerating meat is considered, does it seem a question unworthy of investigation. Corn grown on such grounds, on the contrary, far from participating in the injurious qualities of the air, is esteemed the finest, the land being most fertile in sheltered, low, and damp valleys. Hedges of the *fica moriscu* (cactus *opuntia*) are supposed to increase the intemperie, by obstructing the evaporation from the earth without absorbing moisture like other trees. Wherever the oleander flourishes, intemperie of an inveterate type may be expected."

The most dangerous period is from July to September, the "*adducit febres et. testamenta resignat,*" and the "*incolumem Septembribus horis,*" of Horace; when the miasma arises not only from the previous causes but, at the season of tillage, from the putrefaction of animal or vegetable matter, consequent on their fermentation by the burning heat of the summer and the early autumnal rains. Dante alludes to the painful results, placing Sardinia in the same category as the Valdichiana and Maremma in Italy:—

"Qual dolor fora se degli spedali
Di Valdichiana tra Luglio e Settembre,
E di Sardegna e di Maremma i mali
Fossero in una fossa tutti insieme."

Inferno, Canto 29, st. 46.

Though its violence ceases during the winter and spring months, at no period can either the native or stranger consider himself perfectly safe from the attack of this fever-winged fiend ; an opinion entertained nearly 1,900 years ago, for Cicero, writing to his brother Quintus, who resided in Olbia, the modern Terra Nova, says,—
“ Take care, my brother, of your health ; although it is winter, recollect that it is Sardinia.”

All classes live in terror of “ the witching time of night,”—

“ when Hell itself breathes
Contagion to this world,”

and in districts where it prevails they generally close their houses before sunset, nor will stir out unless obliged, till after sunrise ; and if they do so they cover themselves as much as possible, as the evening dew is said to produce a kind of headache called *micrania*. They have no less dread of a *colpo d' aria*, their expression for any change of temperature, to which their keen sensitiveness amounts to something ludicrous, for a gale of wind or door-a-jar are alike a source of fear and caution lest they should feel a chill or check of perspiration. The subject forms a prominent part of all conversation in the island, but as far as my own observations justify an opinion, the evil is greatly magnified. I have travelled at all hours of the night as well as day and slept in the open air, regardless of time or place without suffering from my imprudence, but do not deny having perceived malaria in various districts ; and though it may doubtless have far greater influence everywhere on the human frame than we imagine, and produce many of the ills we attribute to other sources, the Sardes sum up pleurisy, congestions, plethora, rheumatic affec-

tions, with the thousand other natural shocks they are heir to, in the all comprehensive intemperie ; and so general are its existence and results, so deeply does it affect all interests, that it is, as a native described it to me, an incubus which converted all his happy dreams as to the regeneration and welfare of his country into painful visions of unmending degradation and adversity.

But all who are acquainted with the soil, climate, and habits of the people, agree that it might, if not entirely, be sufficiently ameliorated by drainage and cultivation, to place the country in an equal sanitary condition with others ; and that object once obtained, the natural productions would repay, in a far higher degree, the labor so bestowed.

La Marmora has rightly observed that the vegetation undergoes such constant change, according to position and season, that it appears under totally different aspects to the traveller arriving at different periods and places. It may be divided into three classes,—that of the northern coast and district, which may be compared to that of Provence, and part of Italy, and less influenced, in appearance, by the change of seasons ; the second, or central and mountainous position, resembling Corsica, and abounding in wood ; and the third, consisting of the southern plains and coast, much denuded of verdure, and analogous to the north of Africa. The naturalist will find much gratification in the vegetable kingdom in all the districts, not only from the diversity but from the beauty of the productions ; the different temperatures being adapted to the fir and date tree, and endowing all vegetable life with a luxuriant richness in which few countries are superior.

The educational statistics of Alghero shew, for Sardinia, a favorable result ; the total number of pupils of

all denominations being 225, or a proportion of one in every thirty-six persons ; but a few infant schools, kept by women, can hardly be included in the list, as scarcely anything is taught beyond mere repetition.

The city boasts a governor, comandante, two maggiori de piazza, adjutants and other military officers, a prefect, an intendente, treasurer, and a host of law, municipal, custom house, and other fiscal authorities,—an establishment worthy of a province and city twenty times its size. The diocese of Alghero was created by Pope Julius II. in 1503, on the consolidation of the three minor bishoprics of Ottana, Castro, and Bisarcio. The cathedral, a large building of no great architectural merit, though richly ornamented, was founded in 1510, and consecrated in 1530. Round the high altar is a handsome railing of red and white marble, and the choir is of well carved wood. Among the sixteen minor altars, the Santissimo Sacramento is of very magnificent white marble, of which material almost all the chapels are made. The campanile is light and elegant, and said to have been formerly part of the palace of the Doria family, whose coat of arms is over a niche on the east side.

The mausoleum of Prince Maurizio of Savoy, brother of Carlo Felice, who died at Alghero in 1799, is a large but heavy mass, abounding in allegorical figures of rather a hyperbolical character. The conspicuous richness of these objects contrasts disagreeably with the cold gloominess of the whole of the interior, which is increased by the smallness of the windows. Four tolerable pictures in the sacristy are said to have been presented by an American ; but the artist's name is unknown.

The chapter-house has a collection of archives, chiefly relating to ecclesiastical matters of the diocese,

of little general interest ; and some copies of records and documents, the originals of which are in the Archivio Regio. Among the many I examined was the history of the miraculous relic, the object of highest veneration among the Algherese. It is a skull, said to be that of one of the innocents murdered by Herod, and the dearly prized object is exhibited and paraded with pomp and ceremony by all the ecclesiastical bodies on St. Innocents' day. The document, written in Spanish by a Jesuit in 1645, states for the benefit of the faithful, that it was possessed by a Cardinal Colonna, and presented by him in 1597 in thanksgiving for his escape from shipwreck ; and absurdly minute details are given on every point except its authenticity, which even the Jesuit's ingenuity could not devise.

The relic, shewn me as a particular favour, for it is rarely opened except on the Festa beforementioned, was in a silver case in an altar on the north transept ; and a certain formula being necessary for the production of the treasure, candles were lighted on the altar, and the priest, having put on a peculiar garment for the occasion, the keys were produced, and after sundry prayers the holy object was exhibited in all its glory. My friends, through whose interest I was permitted to see it, were on their knees in all humility and devotion ; but with heretical curiosity I only bent sufficiently to examine it. The head of any prematurely born infant might present a similar appearance ; and any blow or injury in its birth would account for the indentation which was pointed out to us. It was deposited in the altar after various other ceremonies performed with a solemnity and veneration worthy of the satisfactory account given by the Jesuit, and of the belief that it was one of the heads of the murdered innocents, and that

the mark on it was produced by one of the blows, possibly of Herod himself! a tale "out-Heroding Herod."

The cathedral establishment consists of eighteen canons, and twelve beneficed priests, besides the usual number of minor officers and attendants. The bishop's revenue is 25,000 lire nove or 1000*l.* sterling per annum.

Among the thirteen other churches the Santa Croce, the San Michele and the Rosario are the most important. In the former are eight very good pictures, all of one size, and evidently by the same master, but his name unknown; and the second has in the sacristy, a copy of the Holy Family, by Raphael, in the gallery at Madrid.

Among the other ecclesiastical establishments the monasteries of the Benefratelli, have four members, the Mercedarii seven; the Carmelitani eighteen; the Agostini seven; the Conventuali fifteen; the Minori osservanti sixteen; the Capucini fifteen; the St. Elisabeta Convent eighteen; and if to these be added the thirty priests of the cathedral, and a similar number belonging to the other churches, with about twenty-five individuals holding some office or employment in the different establishments, the total number will be 185, which in a population of 8112 gives more than one ecclesiastic of some kind in every forty-four persons.

None of the public or private buildings have any pretensions to beauty or grandeur, nor have the governor's or bishop's palaces anything remarkable in them. The hospital, under the administration of the confraternity of San Giovanni di Dio, and capable of receiving twelve inmates, is a concentration of filth, misery, and poverty; and the prison, as an outrage on humanity, will find its counterparts but too frequently in many others of the island.

The civic palace, though small, is likewise the Archivio

Regio,—the depository of the archives ; and the traveller, if his taste lies in such researches, may find there some information and history of the city. They are sufficiently clear to be legible ; copies have been made of the greater part, and they are kept in tolerable order, though the signets attached to the royal mandates are broken. The earliest documents are dated 1210, and continue to the present day ; fifty-eight are of the reign of Don Pedro IV., of Aragon, bearing date from 1355 to 1362 ; the earliest of which, dated 15th February, 1355, after his capture of Alghero, is the annexation of the city to the Aragon crown. Those of a subsequent date contain the peculiar privileges and immunities granted to the town, many of which are illustrative of the anxiety of the Aragon dynasty to favor the colony, and of the importance they attached to it. By one of the grants, dated February 15th, 1355, no one was allowed to carry on any commerce or trade, or to buy or sell anything in Alghero, unless he was a Catalan or Aragonese ; and that the Algherese should be free of all port and custom-house dues, and enjoy the same privileges as the Valencians and Barcelonese. As an encouragement to warfare, and defence against the attacks of their enemies, was a privilege to every Algherese, dated May 10th, 1358, of selling or buying twenty-five *razieri*, or about $119\frac{1}{2}$ bushels, of wheat without duty, provided he should possess a cross-bow and 100 arrows, and should fire six of them, by way of practice, on every Sunday in the year :—"Que los que tendran balestra y cent fleches en Alguer y tereran sis fleches cada dinmenge del ayn per exercitarse pugan traure 25 rasers de forment sins treta."

The records during the reigns of Don Juan I., Martino, Ferdinando I., Alfonso V., Juan II., and

Carlos V., are confirmations and extensions of these and similar concessions; and their tone proves no less the bitterness of the animosity between the Algherese and the inhabitants of Sassari, than the desire of the kings to favour the former at the expense of the latter.

The visit of the Emperor Charles V. to Alghero, in 1541, on his second expedition to Algiers, forms the subject of one of the late records; and it is inserted in the appendix, not as throwing any additional light on that interesting event, but as a picture of the state of Alghero at that period. The ridiculous bombast and importance attached to every little act of the city authorities on that occasion are an amusing illustration of the pompous vanity which the Algherese inherited by their Catalan origin; the repetition of high-sounding titles, and the verbose enunciation of the commonest occurrences are laughable from their very absurdity; while the haughty treatment of the emperor, though expressed in dignified terms, shews his appreciation of the people. The narrative written in Catalan, except the speeches made by the emperor, which are given verbatim in Spanish, shews some difference from the language now used in Catalonia and Castile; and has never been published,—probably for the best of reasons, that it is not worth it, though by some antiquaries it may be considered a curious illustration of a people and epoch.

The house in which Charles V. resided is still known by his name, as well as that of “Casa Albis;” but it is in no way remarkable; and the window of his room, from which, according to the narrative, he was so amused at the slaughter of the animals, is now blocked up. Some columns stood formerly in front of the door, to

which a chain was attached, and were an inviolable refuge for any criminal during twenty-four hours, similar to the church altars.

Though perhaps Robertson, in his "History of Charles V.," would scarcely have alluded to it, had it even been before him, the royal visit was of no small interest in the historical annals of Alghero.

The Mole and Quai, the most animated parts of the town, are well arranged and kept in good order; the harbour, though small and shallow, with an average depth of about fourteen feet, is safe and commodious, and a caracca or mud-dredge, worked by galley-slaves, is used with so little attention and advantage that vessels of large tonnage lie in the roadstead, or Porto Conte, in the immediate vicinity. In 1841, 237, and, in 1842, 240 vessels entered the port, of which five-eighths were Neapolitan.

The total tonnage of those in 1841 was 8,054, and in 1842, 5,055; the Sarde vessels were merely coasters, the Neapolitan and Tuscan were engaged in the coral fishery; the French and Spanish in cork, corn, wine, oil, and hides; and the two under the English flag were Maltese Speronari.

As a branch of trade, the coral fishery claims the first notice from its first importance and ancient privileges. Among the archives in the Palazzo Civico, relative to them, those dated 27th October, 1375, and 28th July, 1384, by Don Pedro IV. of Aragon, define the limits of the fishery conceded to the Algherese; namely, from the present Capo della Frasca, near Oristano, to the island of Asinara. Within this district no vessels, except those of Alghero, were allowed to fish without previously obtaining permission and paying duty to this town of one-twentieth of the profit; the forfeiture

of the vessel and a heavy fine being the penalties for contraband fishery.

In 1403 the above privileges were confirmed by Don Martino, and in 1444 by Don Alfonso V. ; and Ferdinand II., in 1481 and 1493, inflicted fines on the inhabitants of Bosa for receiving vessels and exacting tribute from them, with a further penalty of 200 golden florins on every vessel which did not present itself at Alghero.

In 1519 and 1528, Charles V. decided in favour of the Algherese, in a law-suit instituted by them against the Sassarese, relative to the fishery ; and from that period their privileges were continued without any remarkable occurrence. In the middle of the last century the number of vessels employed in the fishery was between 400 and 500 ; consisting of Genoese, Corsican, Trapanese, and Neapolitan ; during the French war the number was of course very small, but after the peace in 1814 the average for several years was 200.

From 1827 to 1831 it was about 300 ; and the Algherese themselves attempted about this time to follow the occupation, and in 1829 had as many as 50 vessels employed in it ; but not being able to compete with their rivals, their number was soon reduced to 20.

In 1832 and 1833 all the foreign vessels went to the African coast in the expectation of a better fishery, but returned to Alghero in the following year, when there were 150 Neapolitan, 20 Tuscan, and 18 Algherese.

From 1840 to 1843, the average number was 154, seven-eighths of which were Neapolitan, notwithstanding the duty was raised from 3*l*. 16*s*. 9½*d*. to 7*l*. 13*s*. 7½*d*. ; but in this are included all port, city, and custom-house dues, as well as a certain sum for medical attendance. A diminution in 1843 arises from many of the vessels

having gone to Bona. By an old treaty between France and Algiers, the coral fishery off that coast was ceded under certain restrictions and dues to the French ; but the terms have of course been annulled since their occupation of Algeria, and vessels fishing there pay 1250 francs, 50*l.*, all dues being included in that sum.

According to the present Sardinian tariff, foreign vessels pay 3*l.* 16*s.* 9½*d.* to the government, and the same sum to the city of Alghero ; but the natives and the Genoese only pay 11*s.* 2½*d.*

The vessels arrive about the middle of March, and all leave on the first Sunday in October, so as to arrive at their homes for the celebration of a festa and Saint's day, which the fishermen regard with peculiar veneration. Each vessel has from eight to twelve men, under the command of the Popiere or chief fisherman, whose pay is from 150 to 200 scudi, 28*l.* 16*s.* to 38*l.* 8*s.*, while that of the men does not exceed 20 scudi, 3*l.* 16*s.* 9½*d.* each for their seven months' work. Every thing is, however, provided for them ; their general diet is bread, olives, and water, with an occasional glass of wine, and they continue fishing for a week or ten days, till a fresh supply of provisions is wanted, or a Saint's day requires them to attend some mass. The Popiere, selected and engaged by his employers for his honesty as well as skill, has to keep a strict surveillance over his men, lest they should smuggle or appropriate any of the coral on their arrival ashore ; the inside of their red caps being a favourite hiding place for it ; and many a precious pezzo is in their mouths as they pass through the custom-house.

The price of coral, depending on its quality and size, has been known to fetch 20*l.* the rotola of 27 Sarde ounces, about 2 lbs. English, which would be about

12s. 6d. per oz. English; but the average value of a good quality is 20 écus the rotola, or about 2s. 4½d. per oz. English. Between the years 1721 and 1790 the minimum annual quantity registered was about 270½ tons, and the maximum 784 tons, and in 1841 it amounted to only about 30½ tons English.

The average value of the annual fishery is estimated at 1½ million lire nove (60,000*l*).

I went over the stores of the principal coral contractor, but as it was early in the season there was only a small quantity; the large branches were carefully put away, and the small pieces thrown into baskets.

The King of Sardinia, at his last visit to Alghero, went over this store-house, and seeing a beautiful specimen, expressed his wish to purchase it. The contractor in vain begged his majesty to accept it as a gift, but being obliged to fix a price, he named the small sum of 100 lire nove, about 4*l*., which the king paid, but subsequently finding it to be worth 500 lire nove, sent him a snuff box inlaid with diamonds double the value of the coral.

The coral fisheries off the Sicilian coast are inferior both in quantity and quality to those of Sardinia; and the Neapolitan fishermen frequent the latter in preference to the nearer and cheaper shores of Sicily.

The fishing ground extends from the island of Asinara down to Oristano, at about ten to twenty miles off the shore, and at the average depth of about 300 feet; and it is from the abundance of coral found, that Alghero has, from time immemorial, borne as its arms a tower with a branch of coral issuing from it.

The sardine and anchovy fisheries, the best of which were along the coast from Alghero to Carloforte, have very much decreased within the last few years; and the

deficiency, though attributed by the Sardes to the absence of the usual shoals, is more correctly referred to their own want of industry and energy. In 1841 only 750 kilograms (about $14\frac{3}{4}$ cwts.) of salted anchovies were exported, and 1,982 kilograms (about two tons) of sardines; but the home consumption is great, and they are nowhere to be had in greater perfection than in Alghero.

The daily hauls of other kinds of fish have been averaged at about eight cwt., besides those taken in the Lake Caliche, to the north-east of the town; the average price for the best quality being $1\frac{3}{4}d.$ per lb.

Among the other marine productions for which the Alghero coast is famous is the pinna flabellum, or pinna marina as it is also called. The following passage in "Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies," (section 32,) gives an account of it as found and used by the Tarentines on the coast near Capo St. Vita, and the description is applicable, in many respects, to the Sarde use of it. "This bivalved shell (the pinna marina) of the muscle tribe, frequently exceeds two feet in length. It fastens itself to the stones by its hinge, and throws out a large tuft of silky threads, which float and play about to allure small fish. Amid these filaments is generally found, besides other insects, a small shrimp, called by the ancients cancer pinnotheres, by the modern Tarentes, caurella. This little crustaceous animal was imagined to be generated with the pinna, and appointed by nature to act as a watchman in apprising it of the approach of prey or enemies; and that, upon the least alarm, this guard slipped down into the shell, which was instantly closed; but more accurate observers have discovered that the poor shrimp is no more than a prey itself, and by no means a sentinel for the muscle, which,

in its turn, frequently falls a victim to the wiles of the polypus octopodia. In very calm weather this rapacious pirate may be seen stealing towards the yawning shells with a pebble in his claws, which he darts so dexterously into the aperture, that the pinna cannot shut itself up close enough to pinch off the feelers of its antagonist, or save its flesh from his ravenous tooth. The pinna is torn off the rocks with hooks, and broken for the sake of its bunch of silk, called lanapinna, which is sold in its rude state for about fifteen carlini a pound to women that wash it well with soap and fresh water. When it is perfectly cleansed of all its impurities, they dry it in the shade, straighten it with a large comb, cut off the useless root, and card the remainder, by which means they reduce a pound of coarse filaments to about three ounces of fine thread. This they knit into stockings, gloves, caps, and waistcoats; but they commonly mix a little silk as a strengthener. This web is of a beautiful yellow brown, resembling the burnished gold on the back of some flies and beetles. I was told that the lanapinna receives its gloss from being steeped in lemon juice, and being afterwards pressed down with a tailor's goose."

The Sardes call the fish nachera, and the lanapinna, known to naturalists as the byssus, is termed the barba; this, when cleaned and prepared, sells for 8s. the lb.; and it takes four ounces to make a pair of gloves, which are sold at eleven reals (4s. 2½d.) the pair.

Many of the pinna were nearly three feet long, of a most brilliant mother-of-pearl surface in the interior; and the pearls obtained from them are more curious than valuable.

Plutarch, in his "Solertiâ Animalium," speaks of the pinnothera attaching itself to the pinna, and acting as a kind of jackall or provider, for it bites the pinna by

way of informing it that there is a little fish inside his shell which he then closes, and they eat their prey together.

Provisions are cheap and good; bread of a beautiful fine white quality and taste being 10 cents the libbra, or about 1*d.* the pound; corn averaging 5 scudi, or 19*s.* 2½*d.* the raziere, or 1*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* per quarter; but while I was there it was only four scudi, or 1*l.* 5*s.* 8¾*d.* per quarter; meat of all kinds from 1¾*d.* to 2*d.* the libbra; the finest fowls at 50 cts. or 4¾*d.* each, and game is equally cheap. The best olive oil is from 15 to 18 reals, or 5*s.* 9*d.* to 6*s.* 11*d.* the misura; and as 3½ misura make one barile Sassarese, containing about 7½ gallons, it costs from 2*s.* 8½*d.* to 3*s.* 3*d.* the gallon.

A favorite vegetable is the margallion, the root of the young dwarf palm, the *Chemærops humilis* of Linnaeus, which grows in great abundance in the waste lands, is eaten raw with oil and vinegar, and is much prized for the flavour and relish it gives to wine. As a matter of individual taste I found it hard and insipid, reminding me of an unripe banana. I have seen it in equal abundance in the district of Algiers, but never observed it sold and eaten there as a vegetable.

The wines are excellent, though comparatively little attention is paid to the cultivation of the grape, of which there are upwards of twenty excellent species.

Among the ten different wines, the Malvagia, the best and most highly flavored, is not unlike a very strong white Hermitage, and fetches, when good and old, about 600 lire nove, or 24*l.* the bote of 500 pinte, or about 890 pints English. It costs, therefore, about 4*s.* 3¾*d.* the gallon, but the average price is about 3*s.* 7*d.*

The Torbato, similar to the Manzanilla of Spain, costs about 2*s.* 10*d.*¹⁰ per gallon; the Girò, another quality,

and like the Tinto of Alicante, about 3*s.* 5½*d.* a gallon. The Muscato and Monaco fetch about the same prices; the flavour of the former is perfumed and delicate, the latter is strong and sometimes earthy. The Cannonau is a sweet wine, and the vino ordinario, excellent of its kind, is about 10*d.* the gallon.

The quantity made in the district is about 3,312 tuns, a portion of which is exported to Genoa and France to doctor the weaker wines of those countries.

The export duty, according to the Sardinian tariff of 1843 is about 1*d.* the hectorolite, or twenty-two imperial gallons, when the cost price of the wine is not more than 20 lire nove, or 16*s.* the hectorolite; and 10½*d.* duty if above that price.

M'Culloch estimates the total exports from the island to be about 3,500 Catalan pipes.

The "zibibo," "uve passe," a sort of dry raisin of Alghero, are the best and most esteemed in the island, those prepared at Oristano being very inferior; but the results of various experiments prove that the superiority of the Algherese arises from the better mode of preparation, rather than any advantage of climate or soil. The peculiar species of grape used for this purpose is called "galoppo" in the Oristano district, and "palop" at Alghero, where every proprietor allots a certain portion of his vineyard for their cultivation, and regards them as the choicest fruits on his estates. As soon as the grapes are nearly ripe, all the leaves are cut off, so as to produce rapid maturity; and when gathered they are exposed during the hottest hours, for several days, in baskets made of the fennel plant, from which they contract a peculiar flavour. The next process is that of immersion in the "liscina," or lie, the preparation of which is known only to one privileged class of peasants

in Alghero, who regard it as an hereditary and family secret, and are especially employed for that purpose by the proprietors of the vineyards. It is generally known, however, that a considerable quantity of ashes, as well as laurel leaves and other aromatic plants, are boiled in the mixture, which should be of a dark reddish colour. After standing two days it is again heated, and when boiling, the grapes are immersed for the space of ten or twelve seconds, care being taken not to let them come in contact with the sediment of ashes. They are then replaced in the fennel baskets, and dried in the sun for about ten days. As an article they are seldom to be purchased, being generally exchanged for other private produce, or sent as presents to the Continent, as well as various parts of the island. A ship is annually dispatched by the Algherese to their friends at Cagliari, laden with thousands of baskets of them containing from twenty to twenty-five lbs.; and all merchandise being excluded, the vessel is termed "*la barca delle uve passe.*" This custom is so firmly established, and of such ancient date, that it is always paid as a species of friendly tribute, without regard to the abundance or scarcity of the season.

The state of society at Alghero is formal and vapid, from an inheritance of Spanish with a graft of Italian manners, without the polish which characterises the best society of those countries. Though courteous and agreeable the natives are tenacious of dignity and etiquette, and these manners are evinced more to each other than to strangers, from the petty jealousies and differences always to be found in a small town.

There are several families of considerable fortune, but neither luxury nor comfort are met with in their establishments, and cleanliness is extremely rare among

the lower classes, who are, however, as polite and formal as their superiors, and are sober and honest—so much so, that during the last three years only one robbery had been committed inside the town walls. All classes are proud of their city and its origin; they regard it with a most consequential importance; the ancient rivalry with and hatred of the Sassarese has descended to the present generation, and the memory of the wars which occurred between them, though no longer cherished, is not extinct. It was only at the end of the last century that the government wisely obliged the Algherese to cease celebrating as an annual festa, their victory over the Sassarese and French parties in their attack on the city in 1412; on which occasion, as an accompaniment to the High Mass, a hymn was sung which was and is as popular among them as “Rule Britannia” in England. There are twelve stanzas full of vituperative hatred and revenge, not worth insertion, but the first is subjoined merely as a specimen:—

“Muiran, muiran, los Francesos,
 Ils trahidors de Sassaresos :
 Que han fet la trahiciò
 Al molt alt Rey de Aragò.
 O Visconte de Narbona
 Be aven mala rahò
 De vos escalar la terra
 Del molt alt Rey de Arago.”

“Death, death to the French, and those traitors the Sassarese, who committed treason against the very exalted King of Aragon. The Visconte de Narbona found it to be most ill-judged to invade the soil of the very exalted King of Aragon.”

Another custom existed no less illustrative of these

feelings.—If a Sassarese entered Alghero he was obliged to take his sword out of his scabbard and leave it at the gate of the town ; and the Sassarese to revenge themselves, made the Algherese, whenever they entered Sassari, not only leave their sword, but wear another scabbard on their right side by way of ridicule.

The present commercial and political state of the city is likewise productive of these feelings.

The Algherese have been for several years endeavoring to make a carriage-road from their city to Sassari, instead of the present execrable horse-path, so as to induce the Sassarese to make Alghero their port of trade and commerce, in preference to Porto Torres ; but the effort is as yet unsuccessful, and the rival harbour receives every encouragement and advantage from Sassari, though ill-adapted for the purpose.

Of the intellectual attainments of the Algherese, little can be said ; but, considering the impediments to a fair development and enlargement of their natural powers, they have given several evidences of innate ability. Olives, the learned jurist and commentator on the *Carta de Logu*, is claimed by the Algherese as belonging to them, though the Sassarese, according to Tola, are entitled to the honor. Manno, the author of the "*Storia de Sardegna*," was undoubtedly a native of the place ; and, among their poets, Buragna, Delitala, and Massala have a fair name throughout the whole of the island.

Lo Frasso, the only one of their poets whose character is well known on foreign shores, was born early in the sixteenth century, and, for political as well as private reasons, retired to Spain, where he produced the most celebrated of his poems, "*Diez Libros de la Fortuna de Amor*," published at Barcelona in 1753,

1 vol., 4to. Of its appreciation by Cervantes we may judge by a passage in *Don Quixote*, where the curate and barber are overhauling the knight's library, vol. 1, part 1, chap. 6. "‘Este libro es,’ digò el barbero, abriendo otro, “Los diez Libros de Fortuna de Amor,” compuestos por Antonio de Lo Frasso, poeta Sardo.’ ‘Por las órdenes que recibí,’ digò el cura, ‘que desde que Apolo fue Apolo y las Musas Musas, y los poetas poetas, tan gracioso ni tan disparatado libro como ese no se ha compuesto, y que por su camino es el mejor y el mas único de cuantos deste género han salido à la luz del mundo; y el que no le ha leído, puede hacer cuenta que no ha leído jamas cosa de gusto. Dadmelo acà, compadre, que precio mas haberle hallado que si me dieran una sotana de raja di Florencia.’” “‘This book,’ said the barber, opening another, ‘is the “Los diez Libros de Fortuna de Amor,” composed by Antonio de Lo Frasso, a Sarde poet.’ ‘By the holy orders I have received,’ said the curate, ‘since Apollo was Apollo, and the muses the muses, and poets poets, so facetious and romantic a work as this has never been composed; and, in its peculiar line, is the best and most unique of all of the sort that ever came to light in the world. He who has never read it, has never read anything dainty. Give it me here, my friend; I am more glad to have found it than if any one had given me a cassock of Florence cloth,’” &c.

According to Valery, it was published also in London in 1740—2 vols., 8vo.; but I have not been able to meet with it.

The poetical *furor* of the Sardes in general is a subject elsewhere mentioned, and the *cacoethes scribendi* of the Algherese is not much less violent than in other parts of the island.

I was favoured with a perusal and copies of various offerings to the Muses, consisting chiefly of congratulatory odes to the king and important personages, and sonnets and stanzas to celebrate the arrival of individuals of any notoriety: at least these subjects seemed to bear a premium over the others. Nothing can exceed the fulsome adulation and hyperbolical compliments of many of them, but had the Algherese rhyming propensities a wider field for indulgence, the subjects as well as the poetry might be worthier of each other.

A poetical outbreak occurred while I was there, on the arrival of the new bishop, and the anarchical rabble of poetasters arming themselves with Latin, Italian, and Algherese prose and verse congratulations, committed atrocious offences against common sense and reason. I obtained many of them, but they are too worthless to be inserted. Hymns to the Virgin Mary and the Saints on all occasions on which her or their favor or influence are supposed to have been extended, are also favourite subjects of the multitudinous compositions which inundate the town; and from the surfeit of these religious and royal rhymings one might imagine the Algherese to be all Psalmists or poets laureate. As mere examples of the styles, the following is the first stanza of a popular hymn sung annually in the Cathedral on the vigil of the nativity of our Saviour, but relative to the last judgment:—

“Un Rey vindra perpetual
Vestit de nostra carn mortal,
Del cel vindra tol certament
Per fer del segle jugiament.”

The next is the first stanza of another hymn sung on

the anniversary of the present king's accession to the throne :—

“ Vischi Carlus Albert primer,
Vischi sempre glorios ;
Y per ell vischi dichos
Lu sou Popul de l'Algher.”

The rest of the stanzas of both hymns are quite as vapid as the above.

Though the Catalan is the language proper to the Algherese, the upper classes speak Italian also, and the lower, the Sarde dialect.

Dancing and music are but little cultivated, and the national airs are few and poor in comparison to those in the other parts of the island. Some strolling Italian actors happened to be in the town, and the small room, audience, and price of admission were worthy of them ; the stalls in the front row being about twopence, for which the Montecchi and Capuletti, the Straniera, and other operas were performed.

The listless inactivity of the inhabitants and generally lethargic aspect of the town, are not much altered in these “ piping times of peace ” from what they were forty years ago ; judging at least by the opinion given by Lord Nelson, whose intimacy with parts of Sardinia will be hereafter mentioned. In one of his letters to Lord Harrowby, dated October 11th, 1804, he thus speaks of Alghero :—“ I will only mention the state of one town, Alghirra, fortified with seventy large cannon, and containing ten or twelve thousand inhabitants. It has forty soldiers and a governor, not one of whom has been paid any wages for more than three years. They levy a small tax upon what comes in or goes out of the town. Guns honeycombed for want of paint, and only two carriages fit to stand firing ; and the governor

shews this, and says, 'How long can we go on in this manner?' This place was intended to, and would in our hands, possess the whole of the coral fishery; but for want of active commerce the grass grows in the streets."

In its present state of neglect and want of every principle of energy, the religious ceremonies and feste form a considerable occupation as well as amusement.

I was fortunate enough to be there at one of the principal fêtes which took place at the village of Valverde, situated about six miles to the south-east of the town. The path to it is through a beautiful country abounding in orange and olive groves, vineyards and fields of corn and flax, but in which deliciously sweet wild flowers seemed to form a third of the crops. Crowds of people were proceeding to the village in their gayest attire, which only differs from their ordinary costume in its newness or richness. The male dress consists of the *veste*, a double-breasted dark cloth waistcoat buttoned up to the neck; the *calzoni*, a pair of very full dark trowsers of the same material, extending to the knees and edged with black velvet; the *mutande*, or white cotton drawers, very full and terminating inside the high gaiters, which are also of coarse dark cloth; a *gabbano* with a hood, resembling the *capote* worn by the Moors, but of a material according to the rank and taste of the wearer; these are the outer garments, and a long red or black cap completes the costume. A profusion of long hair, with an *ad libitum* growth of whiskers, moustaches, and beard, gives an additional sombre tint; and the swarthy complexion, with the bright expression of the dark fiery eye, adds to the wildness of the portrait. The dress of the women consisted of a loosely fitting gown of a bright coloured coarse cloth, a bodice of the same

material not very remarkable for the milliner's skill, and a coloured kerchief thrown over the head ; but embroidery and silver ornaments, though not much in fashion with the Algherese, were conspicuous among the peasantry from the various neighbouring villages. These costumes are only worn by the villagers and by the middle and lower classes of the Algherese ; the upper adopt the usual continental dress.

The whole of the ecclesiastical force of Alghero had proceeded to Valverde, headed by the bishop ; for such is the mystery of this festa and its origin, that it is incumbent on them to attend. Among the many versions, the following is the most generally received. A small stone image, said to have been found in the sixth century on the spot where the church of Valverde now stands, proved to be a Madonna, and as such was immediately honored with a place in the Cathedral at Alghero, and installed with due pomp and ceremony. But the image disapproving of the new habitation disappeared during the night ; and the whole town, thrown into the greatest consternation when the circumstance was made known, commenced a general search, under the direction of the clergy, and at length discovered it in the identical spot where it was first found. As the Madonna had thus shewn her decided partiality for Valverde, it would have been an impious act to have again attempted her removal ; a shrine was therefore erected for her there, and at a later period the present church was built to receive her with the honor and reverence she required. The other accounts of this miraculous image are equally remote from probability and veracity ; and on applying for a document on the subject in the archives of the cathedral, I was told that it had been burnt with many others of a similar charac-

ter during the great and destructive plague at Alghero, in 1582. Fire and pestilence at least conferred some counterbalancing advantages on the city.

But let us arrive at Valverde, where about 2000 people were engaged in various occupations and amusements ; some grouped together eating and drinking, others sitting round the sheep or kid they were roasting ; here a cluster of from fifty to eighty joining in the *Ballo tondo*—the national dance ; there, a circle listening to the monotonous song of some singers ; and crowds around the tables and stalls indulging in *dolci*, *bons-bons*, and *rosoglio*, or in the more necessary provision of fruit, bread, and wine. The constant arrivals and departures of parties from the districts were not the least interesting parts of the scene ; for many had come from villages thirty miles distant, for the sole purpose of hearing mass, and praying to the Madonna for a future, or fulfilling a promised vow for some past favor from her ; and upwards of 4,000 persons performed this pious act during the day, as masses were going on incessantly for the convenience of their arrival and departure. The chapel, very small, but decorated with drapery and the usual ornaments exhibited on such occasions, had a gay appearance ; and the only remarkable thing in the high mass, beyond the usual extravagances, was the kissing and adoration of this idol. The bishop, on his knees, with all humility, set the example ; one of the chief dignitaries presenting it to his lips with as much solemnity as if it had been the holy bread and wine, and he kissed it with no less fervency and piety. The rest of the clergy, having received the episcopal blessing with various prostrations, were permitted to enjoy the honor ; and, for some special reason, the tops of their heads were likewise touched with the image ; after which

ceremonies, the whole ecclesiastical body formed into procession, and carried it outside the church, where the assembled multitude were on their knees to receive it as it passed. It was then taken back to the church, and deposited in its resting place, where it remains till the next annual festa.

From what I saw, it can only be described as a doll about a foot long, gaudily dressed in brocaded silk and tinsel, and its black face just visible amid the ornaments which surrounded its head.

As an object of veneration it has become additionally holy within the last ten years, by the generally accredited story, among many others of a similarly miraculous character, that a woman who had been a cripple all her life was suddenly restored while praying at this shrine; that she arose without any of the previous contractions of her limbs, returned home, and since that period has become the mother of a large family.

A general and intense feeling of devotion prevailed during the church ceremonies; and so strongly was the belief in the efficacy of the stone impressed on the minds of the people that many were crawling from the door, and from a distance outside it, to the altar—a species of Santa Scala penitence.

The sober cheerfulness which beamed on their countenances, bright and natural, without the over-excitement of wine or spirits, was no less remarkable in their amusements.

This festa, which assumes also the character of a fair, continues for three or four days, and many of the parties remain there the whole time. Among the amusements on such occasions are horse-racing, jumping in sacks, *las veillas* and *las barandons*—a species of wakes and marrow-bones and cleavers, with the usual dancing and

singing ; but the celebration of it is rarely accompanied with that laxity and immorality so generally prevalent on these occasions in Germany and other countries. Valverde is the Marienzell of the Algherese without the laxity and *lockeres Wesen* of the Austrians. As a reunion of friends and relations from different districts, it is a happy meeting ; as a holy ceremony, orderly and devout ; and, as one of amusement and pleasure, not often immoral ; and so important is it, that the Algherese have been more anxious about having a good road to Valverde than to Sassari.

The beautiful scenery in the vicinity of Alghero affords many excursions, but the pleasure is much diminished by the wretched state of the narrow paths.

The village of Puttfigari, situated in the mountains to the east of Alghero, has nothing to recommend itself beyond its natural position, being a collection of miserable houses with about 400 inhabitants. It belongs to the Marquis de Boyd, and the only interest attached to it arose from an anecdote he gave me relative to the banditi, to whom it is here necessary to introduce the reader.

Previously to leaving Turin and Genoa, I had been forewarned of the danger of travelling in Sardinia, from the number of *fuorusciti* literally “outgoers” of all kinds ; a warning given by Piedmontese, who had, as well as by those who had not, travelled there. One friend recommended me to take nothing but absolute necessities ; another to leave my watch behind ; a third to arm myself *cap à pié* ; and a fourth to make every arrangement for a ransom ; all told me of some accident which had happened either to themselves or their friends, or was likely to happen to me ; and in fact a belief in their predictions would effectually deter the traveller from even putting his foot in a country where he is to

be robbed, captured, detained, shot, or stilettoed, at every ten paces. But those whose experience and advice made their opinions more worthy of attention, assured me that, though certainly exposed to the continual chance of falling in with some of the fuorusciti, yet, as a stranger and foreigner, I should receive no maltreatment from them. In the island itself, the Piedmontese authorities affirmed that they were now so few that travelling was comparatively safe; while, on the other hand, the Sardes themselves, intimately acquainted with the real state of things, and having towards a stranger no object in either magnifying or concealing the dangers, gave me a very different account of them. The Sarde fuorusciti,—for in this generic name may be included the regular bandit, the petty robber, the fugitive from the arm of the law, the avenger of an insult or injury, and voluntary fugitive, are in many respects different characters to the Italian and Spanish outlaws. The bandito of Apuglia comes before one's mind as a romantic rogue decorated with watches, ornaments, miniatures of the Virgin, rings, and other spoils of his victims,—with all the charms of a hero and the atrocities of a villain,—as living on the pleasure and profit of plunder, and actuated to it by the necessity as well as excitement of gaining an existence by his course. The ladron, the salteador, and the ratero of Spain may be similarly distinguished from each other; the first being the wholesale professional robber; the second, the literal “pouncer upon” whatever he can lay his hands, and proportionately less generous and magnanimous than the ladron; and the third is the common order of thief.

But all these differ from the Sarde fuorusciti, for the regular bandito can only arrive at that high dignity by a

lengthened exile from his home, by a series of attacks on him, and a consequent desperation in every act of defence or mode of obtaining a livelihood. Sardinia can boast but of few of them, nor do their life, habits, and customs correspond with their Italian or Spanish compeers,—wealth, show, and renown being no components in their character.

The petty robbers are equally few, and their attacks on a passenger are simply for the acquisition of a bare means of subsistence,—in many instances only asking for gun-powder and shot, by which they obtain their daily food; while others having demanded money, and taken a small sum, have returned the rest to its owner. The fugitive from the arm of the law, and those living by and from the consequences of vendetta or revenge, constitute seven-eighths of the whole *fuorusciti*.

Innocent or guilty—for they are a mixed herd—they lead a vagabond life in the forests and mountains with greater security and happiness than were they to undergo the risk of a trial by the law authorities, finding their own revenge for injury or insult more satisfactory and attainable than any legal justice and retribution. *Facinatorosi*, the wicked, and *malviventi*, the evil livers, are the names generally applied to these two classes by way of contradistinction to the *bandito* and *ladro*, the bandit and robber; for, continually in communication with their families, they obtain from them what they require, and only when hard pressed will a sheep from a neighbour's flock be stolen, or the stranger be stopped and applied to for assistance.

In looking to the origin and continuance of these refugees, robbers, and revengers, we find that in all mountainous countries, where civilisation has not ensured a defence of property, and rights of persons, the

natives have an innate propensity to lawless rapine and self-assumption of recompense and revenge; and as early as A. D. 22 mention is made of their existence in the island, as the putting them down,—the *coercendis illic latrociniiis* was the ostensible cause of the 4,000 Jews being expelled here from Rome by Tiberius.—*Vide Tacitus Annal.*, lib. 2, ch. 85.

It is true that Carlo Alberto has done more for the suppression of the fuorusciti than has been done since the days of the Roman emperor; but until the radical evils of the administration of miscalled justice are removed, no solid or permanent effect can be produced.

The last grand battue of any importance of these unfortunate creatures was in 1785, during the reign of Carlo Emanuele III., by the viceroy, the Marchese di Rivarolo;—a slight and temporary remedy of the evil, which only made the wound to fester rather than heal.

Many anecdotes will be introduced illustrative of their life and habits; and the general tone of honor, hospitality, and kindness, predominating in their characters will shew how good is the basis on which their reformation may be effected.

The following circumstances occurred to the Marquis de Boyl at Puttifigari; the hero of the tale being an outlaw named Pepe Bonu, a man of as much notoriety in the province of Alghero as Jose Maria was in Andalusia, though the former was never known to have committed the atrocities of the latter. He was born in 1787, at the town of Bonorva, about thirty miles from Alghero. Being accused in 1814 of the murder of Pinna, a baronial law-officer under the then feudal system, he fled to the mountains between the two towns; and after being five years a fuoruscito, was pardoned on the accusation being disproved.

Happy in his home and family, consisting of a wife and five children, he then pursued an honest and industrious livelihood ; but vendetta still rancouring in the hearts of his enemies, and being charged with another crime by the Più faction in 1829, he was again obliged to fly to the mountains and to wander in his former haunts, protecting himself against the constant attacks of his foes, as well as evading the law authorities, which in vain endeavored to seize him. His partisans, some in self defence, others in friendship, rallied around him, and formed a compact band, of which he was the absolute leader ; while the government authorities and private revenge united in their efforts to hunt him down with as little mercy and as much pleasure as they chased and killed the deer and boars of the mountains in which he wandered. It was not till the 7th September, 1838, that they succeeded in their efforts ; and their object was effected by another fuoruscito of the Più party, named Rosas, between whom and Pepe Bonu there had been a quarrel and a vow of mutual vengeance. Pepe was reposing, unarmed, at the foot of a tree in the Piana di Murtaa, when Rosas accidentally saw him, and creeping stealthily up, shot him dead on the spot. He was as much beloved by his friends as feared by his foes, and during the whole of his outlawry was never known to injure or wrong an individual who treated him fairly and honorably ; but his wrath was not the less violent, and full many a victim fell by the unerring shot of his own and his comrades' guns.

Pardon was frequently offered him on the condition of delivering up his band to the authorities ; to which he replied that he would never purchase his liberty, however dear to him, at the price of treason and treachery ; that he did not even desire it, unless the boon

were extended to all his followers, and that with them he preferred to run every risk if his terms were not accepted. He carried in his girdle a strong dose of poison, which he was prepared to take when all hope of safety was at an end, having made a vow never to fall alive into the hands of his enemies; and his widow, overwhelmed with grief at his death, declares that she will never cease to wear the mourning garments she put on the day of his capital condemnation.

The following narrative of an interview between him and the Marquis de Boyl, was given me by the latter, and is an extract from a letter to the Marchioness immediately after the event at Puttifigari in 1836: "Towards nine o'clock in the evening, as I was finishing my dinner, a servant came and whispered to me that the celebrated Pepe Bonu desired to have the honor of presenting himself to me. The minister of justice and all the official authorities of the village being at table with me, I ordered in a low voice, which none could hear, that he should be conducted to my bedroom, without passing through the room where we were dining. I then went there, and soon saw enter a man of middle stature. about forty-seven years of age, of calm and majestic deportment. His hair was grey; as was also his long beard, his eyes were dark, and his face much wrinkled. Four others were behind him, one of whom was a very handsome young man of twenty-one, of slender figure with light beard and dark eyes. All were armed from head to foot,—each carrying a gun, a bayonet and a brace of pistols; and each of them held by a cord a dog of most ferocious aspect—a thorough Cerberus. Pepe Bonu, followed by his sons,—for thus he calls his comrades,—advanced towards me, and they all kissed my hand with the greatest courtesy imagin-

ble. After apologising for presenting himself thus armed before me, he hoped I understood his position, being continually pursued by his enemies and the hand of the law. He then proceeded to narrate to me the end of life he had led for eleven years in the mountains, and, as he said, "from having been calumniated by his enemies and the law authorities without having killed any one,"—alluding to the Pinna and second affair of 1829. I was extremely delighted with his conversation, and questioned him on many subjects. He then begged me to ask pardon for him; and I replied that he could obtain it easily himself, as he already knew, *per impunità*,—that is by giving up another who had a price fixed on his head. At these words, my hero, drawing himself back a couple of steps, and grasping the handle of the bayonet, which was placed diagonally in his waistband, said: "My lord, Pepe Bonu has never betrayed any one; if the government does not choose to change the sentence on me, and I am to buy my liberty by treachery, I do not wish for that change. I prefer a thousand times to wander in the mountains with my sons and my honor;—yes, with my honor, which I regard more than my life." At this answer, I could no longer restrain myself, and, giving him my hand, he kissed it most respectfully, bending his head. I commended the honorable sentiments with which he was animated; and after having promised to do all in my power to intercede with the government for his pardon, on the other condition, I endeavoured to reason with him, and make him see that some day or other he might be wounded, and then easily arrested. The four men who were with him, and who had not hitherto spoken a word, here interrupted me as I was proceeding, and all of them simultaneously exclaimed, "Inantio heus a

morri totus conca a issu,"—"Before that, we will all perish for his head." I was astonished at so much affection for, and faithfulness to, their chief. I then withdrew myself from them for a little while,—to take leave of my guests who were waiting for me in the other room,—and ordered a supper for them, which they accepted with much pleasure; and to avoid any restraint on them I retired to a little distance. How I longed for the pencil of Vandyke to paint their animated countenances, their large dark eyes turning from all sides to the door whenever it was opened. The five dogs beside them, their eyes fixed on their masters, watched greedily for the pieces of food which were thrown to them from time to time. My *maitre d'hôtel* sat at table with the *fuorusciti*, and had to taste everything first, according to their request, as the *dragoni*, the government troops, might, as they hinted, have become acquainted with their arrival at the palace, and it was necessary to be on their guard, lest they should "die the death of rats,"—meaning thereby being poisoned. I then went up to them, and no sooner had I joined them than they began pledging my health in toasts and good wishes,—such as William Wallace never received from his Scots. They then gave me an account of their mode of life: wandering about all night, resting and concealing themselves during the greater part of the day; and, outcasts as they were, on assembling in the morning they go through the *rosario*, and, courageous beyond all belief, are yet most humble in the presence of their chief, nor dare to raise their eyes when he reproves them. Pepe Bonu, well knowing his authority over them, uses it with rigor, and is, nevertheless, beloved by them as a father. Their principal amusement is firing at a target, which they do constantly, and with great dexterity.

After supper they again kissed my hand ; and, it being past midnight, and every one in bed, I expressed a wish to accompany them to see them start on their horses. I was perfectly astonished in meeting at a short distance twenty more of his band, who, acting as a *vidette* with their dogs, were guarding the security of their chief and their companions. One of my vassals was among them. He had been detained as a hostage, because he had stated that there were no troops in the baronial palace.

“ Three days afterwards, I left Puttifigari, and met them all drawn up on the summit of a mountain, with their muskets grounded, holding the barrels in their left hands. They awaited me, and saluted me, raising their caps from their heads with their right hands, and waving them in a circle as high as possible ; once more demonstrating their gratitude by affecting *vivas*, and wishes for a prosperous journey. If Walter Scott had been present at this scene, he would have made use of it for one of his finest romances ; the arrival of these men—every one of whom had a characteristic physiognomy—in a palace, surrounded by mountains and forests, would have been a suitable subject for his glowing imagination ; but my humble pen can only narrate the facts. I have no other object than to make known a man who might have served his government well, and his country usefully, if unfortunate events had not forced him to leave his paternal hearth for the wild mountains, and there to lead, as a *fuoruscito*, a wandering life, to avoid arrest or giving advantage to his enemies.”

During my stay at Sassari I made several excursions to Alghero, for the purpose of seeing the Antro di Nettuno, a stalactitic grotto, about twelve miles from

the town; and was unsuccessful on account of the weather; but a combination of circumstances at last amply repaid me for previous disappointments, and I had an opportunity of seeing it under peculiar advantages. The Algherese assert that 300 out of the 365 days, it is impossible to enter it; and that there was a prestige in favor of the royal visits; for on the two occasions on which his majesty had been there, the weather was fine enough to allow of an entry. The statement was fully borne out in the present instance; for a gale of wind, which had continued for ten days, moderated on the day of his arrival at Alghero. Britannia may rule the waves; but his Sarde majesty seems to have a peculiar understanding with Neptune, whenever he wishes to call on him in his grotto in Sardinia.

The embarkation at Alghero, attended with as much pomp and ceremony as a small city could give, was an interesting sight, and evinced much loyal feeling, though exemplified rather differently to that in the narrative of Charles V. The assembling of the militia, their bivouacking outside the walls, the parade of the civic and ecclesiastical authorities, the preparation, the rejoicings, and the usual excitement on such occasions formed an animating scene. Even a royal livery contributed to feed the loyal flame; for one of the servants in a crimson coat happening to come out of the house where the king was lodged, was mistaken for majesty by the lower orders, and followed by them with loud cheers of "*Viva il Re.*"

On the evening of the king's arrival, I was fortunate enough to be present at a grand ball, given to him and his son, the Duke of Genoa, by one of the principal nobles of the city; and as the royal visitors had intimated a wish to see the costumes of the country, the

aristocracy of the city begged or borrowed what they did not possess ; dresses being even sent from Quartu, near Cagliari, all of which by their elegance and richness contributed to render the assembly, though small, an extremely brilliant exhibition, the national Sarde dance, the ballo tondo, forming one of the amusements.

I had previously accepted the invitation of the civic authorities, to accompany them to the Antro di Nettuno on the following morning at two o'clock, and they had made all arrangements for preceding his majesty, and superintending the illumination ; but in the course of the evening the king honored me with an invitation to accompany him, and the favor being a command, I was obliged to resign my previous engagement.

We started at daylight for Alghero, amid the salutes of the batteries and the usual honors, and in about an hour and a half we brought up under the stupendous cliffs of Capo Caccia, whose craggy outlines were reflected by a cloudless sun on the mirror of the glassy sea. The Antro di Nettuno is situated on one of its promontories, close to the little Island of Foradada, and so exposed that any wind between the north-west and the south prevents an entry. From my first arrival in the island, I had heard incessantly that to leave it without seeing this grotto would be to omit its greatest natural curiosity, and compared to which all other grottoes in Europe were as nothing, the national pride of their own being as great as their utter ignorance of those in other countries.

There are two descriptions of it ; one by a Signor Massala, published at Sassari in 1805 ; and the other by Signor Peretti at Leghorn in 1835 ; the latter, so inflated with romantic ideas that the reader is bewildered by its complexity, comparisons, and allusions to almost

every subject in heathen mythology ; but the statement that its beauties are far beyond the power of either pen or pencil to trace is perfectly true, for no descriptive talent or fertility of imagination could conjure up the scene to the reader's fancy.

These accounts stand in an invidious comparison with that by Sir H. Davy of the grotto of Adelsburg, in his delightful little work "The Last Days of a Philosopher," in which are none of the strained efforts to elucidate the subject by tropes and similes ; the very simplicity of the description conveying to the mind the truthfulness of the portrait much better than the high-flown rhapsodies of the Sarde.

The candles and other necessities had been sent during the night by the city authorities, and they themselves had been occupied several hours before daylight in the arrangement.

His majesty was welcomed on his arrival by a band of music, stationed outside the grotto ; but which, for the sake of the illusion, should have been placed unseen in some of the interior recesses.

The first vaulted cavern, forming an antichamber about thirty feet high, has no peculiar beauty, and from it the royal party commenced embarking in a very small flat-bottomed boat, made expressly, and brought for traversing the water in the interior.

His majesty having desired me to accompany him and the Duke of Genoa, we crossed a second cavern, in which were about twenty feet of beautifully clear water ; and then, turning to the left, we immediately found ourselves in an intricate navigation among stalactites, with surrounding walls and passages of stalagmites of considerable height. Having passed them, and proceeding westerly, we reached another cavern with a

natural column in its centre, the shaft and capital of which, supporting the immense and beautifully fretted roof, reminded me of those in the chapter-house of the cathedral at Wells, and the staircase of the hall at Christ Church, Oxford. It stands, the growing monument of centuries, in all its massive and elegant simplicity, with, comparatively speaking, few other stalagmites to destroy the effects of its noble solitude.

Having landed on the farthest side of the cavern, the Charon of this stalactitic Styx returned for his majesty's suite; and the few minutes that elapsed gave us time to look around. Not a voice, not a sound was heard beyond the dying splash of the oar of the boat; one felt as if everything was merely a dream—"a phantasy, a heat-oppressed brain;" a thousand associations arose of artificial scenes of a similar character;—fêtes and palaces in Moore's *Epicurean*, and *The Arabian Nights*, all seemed realised; and had it not been for the presence of royalty, the delicious reverie might have been indulged till imagination became belief.

The vista of the caverns and passages through which we had passed, disclosed in the distance a slight greyish shade,—the feeble struggle of the few rays of daylight contending with the victorious blaze of nearly 3,000 candles, which, placed in all parts of the gigantic abyss where we stood, were reflected on the unruffled lake at our feet, while the roseate tint of the carbonate of lime gave a warmth to the whole scene. Opposite to us was a diminutive mountain, on the summit of which a row of lights, arranged expressly to illumine the overhanging roof, gave to the small stalactites in the distance the appearance of icicles of a frozen fountain; and to our right hand were columns of enormous and

bizarre formation from fifty to sixty feet high, with recesses and projections of every variety. We then ascended this mountain, whence a coup d'œil of the whole surrounding hill, valley, and lake, was obtained; and here again the soundless scene gave, as it were, a sanctity to the very air we breathed, making us almost feel that the god of silence had selected it for his temple, and that it were a profanation to speak. Not even the reverberation of a ripple beat against the distant entrance; the billows, almost constantly rolling into it, then slept motionless on their sandy and coral beds; and it seemed as if



“Scylla wept,
And chid her barking waves into attention,
And fell Charybdis murmured soft applause.”

In parts of the grotto were corridors and galleries, some 300 and 400 feet long; reminding one, if such a comparison is allowable, of the Moorish architecture of the Alhambra. One of them terminates abruptly in a deep cavern, into which we were prevented descending: but among many other interesting objects is a small chamber, the access to which is through a very narrow aperture. After climbing and scrambling through it we found ourselves in a room, the ceiling of which is entirely covered with delicate stalactites, and the sides with fretted open work; so fantastical that one might almost imagine that it was a boudoir of the Oceanides where they amused themselves with making lime lace. In exploring this lovely camaretta, the sublime was changed into the ludicrous, and the warmth of admiration chilled by some icy-cold water in a hole at the bottom, into which the Duke of Genoa and myself slipped when assisting each other in the descent from

the aperture ;—my feet having as insecure a resting-place as that I had given him on my shoulders.

Some of the columns in different parts of the grotto are from seventy to eighty feet in circumference ; and the masses of drapery, drooping in exquisite elegance, are of equally grand proportions.

On a previous visit, the King of Sardinia wished to transport one of them to Turin, but it was found to be utterly impracticable ; and a circumstance may here be mentioned but little creditable to our nation if it be true. It is generally asserted that the captain of an English ship of war placed a cannon at the mouth of the grotto ; and, after repeated discharges of shot, mutilated many of the stalactites without succeeding in obtaining any solid mass. Peretti thus speaks of the circumstance : “Diverse colonne mutilate dall’ insana ferocia d’un capitano Inglese, che impedita di penetrarvi in tempo inopportuno vi lanciò parecchie cannonate, restano sparse nel sotto posto lago.” It is to be doubted whether the “mad ferociousness” of any one would be so great as to vent his wrath at a disappointment arising from the “inopportuneness of the weather” by firing at the unoffending grotto ! Massala states that a “Cavaliere di Fongenez, comandante la regia fregata,” tried to clear a passage by repeated discharges of cannon,—“a replicati colpi da un canone che fece trasportare entro la grotta.” The mistake may have arisen from this circumstance which Peretti cautiously omits to mention ; but this accusation would not have been alluded to had not the latter gentleman exhibited some other proof of his own *insana ferocia* against our nation.

In the interior of the grotto are two inscriptions placed by the Algherese to commemorate the visits of

his Majesty; the first in 1829, when he was Principe di Carignano; and the second in 1841, when actual king; which latter, written by Manno, is very well expressed :—

Ritornato in questo luogo,
Carlo Alberto Re,
Addi 28 Aprile, 1841.
Mostravane al suo primogenito Vittorio Emanuele, Duca di Savoia,
Le naturali meraviglie.
Nel giorno innanzi aveagli mostrato
Come in tanta esultazione dei popoli Sardi al cospetto dei loro
principi,
Restasse pur molto da segnalare.
Nel giubilo, e negli omaggi dei Cittadini d'Alghero,
I consoli della città posero allora questo monumento di ricordo
Per gli stranieri.
Agli Algheresi bastava la popolare tradizione
Che durera viva e cara nei tempi i piu lontani,
Anche quando la grotta e la lapida -
Venissero a sprofondare in questi gorghi.

His Majesty returned on board his steamer and started for Genoa, and the civic authorities obligingly gave me a passage back to Alghero. The various parties who had come to see the grotto were then admitted; and it was ultimately a scene of amusing confusion, for, a slight breeze having sprung up, and there being no possibility of getting out when the sea is agitated, they were obliged to make a precipitous retreat, the difficulties of it considerably increased by the mariners and others employed in the illumination, who commenced their customary plunder of the candles as their perquisite; and who, had they been Russians, could not have seized them with greater avidity, though for a different purpose.

In returning home, I endeavoured to make a com-

parison between the grotto of Adelsburg, Paros, Antiparos, Cerigo, Ithaca, and others which I had previously seen, and that of Sardinia.

At Adelsburg, the chambers are in some parts loftier, and the stalagmites more abundant,—differences caused by the depositions of carbonate of lime falling on a dry soil, whereas the greater part of the Antro di Nettuno is inundated with salt water, which prevents their formation. The existence of the *Proteus Anguinus*,—that extraordinary link between the fish and serpent, in the Adelsburg grotto, is also a point of interest peculiar to itself; but, with these exceptions, the balance of beauty is decidedly in favor of the Sardinian grotto.

Those of Paros and Antiparos are neither as extensive nor equal in elegance and rarity, and none in the other countries admit of a comparison. Having seen it illuminated on a scale and at an expense which a private individual or even a party, might hesitate to incur, may have possibly made me speak of it in terms which might appear exaggerated if seen under a different aspect; but I have only endeavoured to give a faithful account of it under the peculiar circumstances and auspices of a royal visit.

A night on Mount Vesuvius during one of the greatest eruptions in this century, when the principal and nine minor craters were pouring forth their fiery wrath, has always been impressed on my memory as the finest spectacle I ever witnessed; but the Antro di Nettuno is equally magnificent, though of a totally different character.

The former, is one of Nature's children raging in violence and fury; the latter, one sleeping in silence and tranquillity.

On the side of one of the hills overhanging Porto Conte is another stalactitic cavern, known as *Ea Grotta dell' Altare*, so called from an altar inside it dedicated to Erasmus, who seems to have been formerly the patron Saint of that district;—at least Fara, in 1580, calls the present *Capo della Caccia*, the *Capo di Sant' Erasmo*. The access is difficult, nor has it any remarkable beauty except a conglomeration of stalagmite of a darkish green tint, which, being ramiform, is said strongly to represent a cypress tree; and, on arriving at the bottom, after a rapid descent of about 120 feet, are two little pools from thirty to forty feet deep.

CHAPTER II.

The Noraghe and the Sepulture de is Gigantes.—Description and Enquiry into their Origin.

Chaos of ruins ! who shall trace the void,
O'er the dim fragments cast a lunar light,
And say, 'here was or is,' where all is doubly night?

Childe Harold, Canto iv. 80.

As we shall shortly find some Noraghe in our route, it were well to arrest our steps to enquire a little about them. The ancient architectural remains known by the name Noraghe or Nurhag, are the most interesting objects in the island, and the unfathomable mysteries of their origin and purpose having hitherto baffled the learning and ingenuity of historians, archæologists, and antiquaries, the following observations are merely offered as an analysis of La Marmora's researches, of information obtained from other sources, as the result of a personal examination of these monuments, and a vague supposition of their origin.

The spelling of the name varies according to different authors, as much as the pronunciation, in the districts where they are found ; consequently, Nur-hag, Nur-aghe, Noraghe, Nurache, Nuraxi, and Our-ag, Or-ag, omitting the first letter n, are used indiscriminately ; but, though Nur-hag may be perhaps more classically correct, Noraghe seems to be most generally adopted,

and is of the masculine gender without a difference of termination in the plural.

All are built on natural or artificial mounds, whether in valleys, plains, or on mountains, and some are partially enclosed, at a slight distance, by a low wall of a similar construction to the building.

Their essential architectural feature is a truncated cone or tower, averaging from thirty to sixty feet in height, and from 100 to 300 in circumference at the base. The majority have no basement, but the rest are raised on one extending either in a corresponding or an irregular shape, and of which the perimeter varies from 300 to 653 feet, the largest yet measured.

The inward inclination of the exterior wall of the principal tower, which almost always is the centre of the building, is so well executed as to present in its elevation a perfect and continuously symmetrical line; but sometimes a small portion of the external face of the outer works of the basements, which are not regular, is straight and perpendicular; such instances are, however, very rare.

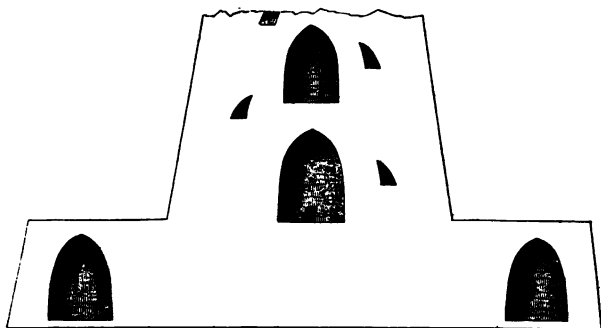
There is every reason to believe, though without positive proof, for none of the Noraghe are quite perfect, that the cone was originally truncated and formed thereby a platform on its summit.

The material of which they are built being always the natural stone of the locality, we accordingly find them of granite, limestone, basalt, trachitic porphyry, lava, and tufo; the blocks varying in shape and size from three to nine cubic feet, while those forming the architraves of the passages are sometimes twelve feet long, five feet wide, and the same in depth.

The surfaces present that slight irregularity which proves the blocks to have been rudely worked by the

hammer, but with sufficient exactness to form regular horizontal layers; with few exceptions the stones are not polygonal, but when so, are without that regularity of form which would indicate the use of the rule; nor is their construction of the Cyclopean and Pelasgic styles; neither have they sculpture, ornamental work, or cement.

The external entrance, invariably between the E.S.E. and S. by W., but generally to the East of South, seldom exceeds five feet high and two feet wide, and is often so small as to necessitate crawling on all fours. The architrave, as previously mentioned, is very large; but, having once passed it, a passage varying from three to six feet high, and two to four wide, leads to



SECTION OF INTERIOR OF A NORAGHE.

the principal domed chamber, the entrance to which is sometimes by another low aperture as small as the first.

The interior of the cone consists of one, two, or three domed chambers, placed one above the other and diminishing in size in proportion to the external inclination; the lowest averaging from fifteen to twenty

feet in diameter, and from twenty to twenty-five in height. The base of each is almost always circular, but, when otherwise, elliptical; the edges of the stones, where the tiers overlay each other, are worked off, so that the interior assumes a semiovoidal form, or that of which the section would be a parabola; the apex being crowned with a large flat stone resting on the last circular layer, which is reduced to a small diameter. It has been said that in some Noraghe a metal ring is suspended from the apex; but the fact has yet to be proved; and this current belief of the peasants is, as a Sarde author has observed, like that entertained by them as to the existence of spirits in these buildings, "*che come gli spettri, si veggono, e non si lascian toccare,*"—"one sees them, but they do not let themselves be touched."

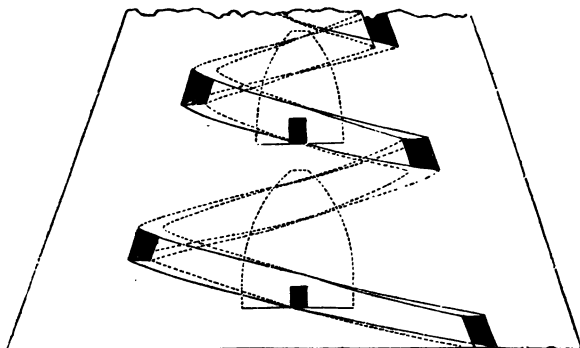
In the interior of the lowest chamber and on a level with the floor, are frequently from two to four cells or niches, formed in the thickness of the masonry without external communication, varying from three to six feet long, two to four wide, and two to five high, and only accessible by very small entrances.

The access to the second and third chambers, as well as to the platform on the top of these Noraghe which have only one chamber, is by a spiral corridor made in the building either as a simple ramp with a gradual ascent, or with rough irregular steps made in the stones.

The corridor varies from three to six feet in height, and from two to four in width, and the outer side either inclines according to the external wall of the cone, and the inner side according to the domed chamber, or resembles in the section a segment of a circle.

The entrance to this spiral corridor is generally in

the horizontal passage which leads from the external entrance to the first floor chamber of the cone; though sometimes it is by a small aperture in the chamber, about six or eight feet from the base, and very difficult of entry.



SECTION OF CORRIDORS OF A NORAGHE.

The upper chambers are entered by a small passage at right angles to this corridor, and, opposite to this passage, is often a small aperture in the outer wall, having apparently no regular position, though frequently over the external entrance to the ground floor; while, in some instances, there are several apertures, so made that only the sky or most distant objects in the horizon are visible.

The Padre Angius has subdivided the Noraghe into four categories—the simple cones, the compound, the united, and those having outworks. These subdivisions would, however, be insufficient; for, though in their general characteristics the buildings have the closest affinity to each other, the minor points of difference are so varied and numerous, and the dilapidations have so altered their form and appearance, that

any classification might not only be confusing but possibly erroneous.

Though there are upwards of 3000 now in existence, more or less in ruins, it may be fairly assumed that they were formerly more numerous, for though there is not the slightest ground for supposing that any have been built during the last 2500 years, there is evidence to prove that their destruction has been gradual and progressive. Forming a valuable quarry for the people in making their houses, *chiudende* or enclosures, and roads, every day's spoliation so alters their appearance, that future travellers may not recognise those described by their predecessors; and another difficulty arises in the variety of names given to the same Noraghe, so that the information from the peasants is constantly though unintentionally incorrect, and productive of incessant mistakes. In general, they are called after some saint or personage, peculiar feature in the building, or proximity to a well known object, such as *San Gavinu, ederosu, de tres bias, &c.*

La Marmora has given details and admirable plans of several of the principal Noraghe, some of which will be mentioned in the following pages, together with those remarkable for any peculiar feature, selected from upwards of fifty that I measured.

The consideration of their origin and purpose may be prefaced by the abridged opinions of the authors who have hitherto entered upon the subject.

Stephanini believes them to have been trophies of victory; Vidal, the houses of the giants; Madao, the tombs of the antediluvians; Peyron, the tombs of the ancient nomad shepherds. Fara attributes them to an Iberian colony under Norax; Mimaut gives the same origin, and that they were tombs. Petit Radel, ima-

gining them to be tombs, attributes those which have any irregular polygonal masonry to the colony under Iolas and the Thespiadæ ; and those in which there are only horizontal layers, to the Pelasgi and Tyrrhenians. Inghirami makes them to be funereal monuments with a Tyrrhenian origin ; Micali looks to a Phœnician or Carthaginian source, but does not suppose them to be tombs. Arri believes them to be Phœnician, and used in fire worship ;—an opinion entertained also by Münter and Angius ; Manno attributes them to the earliest primitive population,—of Oriental origin, and thinks them tombs of different tribes ; Arnim, the places of religious and mystical festivals, and, in later times, burial places. La Marmora reserves his judgment, but implies indirectly that they were of Phœnician origin, and may have served for tombs or temples. Finally, Captain Smyth—the only English author, I believe, who treats of them—and he but slightly, dates their foundation in the obscure ages subsequent to the arrival of the Trojans, after the fall of their city ; and supposes “ they were designed to answer the double purpose of mausolea for the eminent dead, and asyla for the living.”

It is hardly necessary to notice the utter improbability of the four first opinions, or that they were the residences of families, fortifications, watch-towers, or prisons ; for their forms, constructions, and localities are sufficient refutation of such suppositions.

In ascertaining what light is thrown on them directly or indirectly by any ancient authorities, we do not assume the perfect accuracy and veracity of Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, or Pausanias ; but receiving them with a *quantum valeat*, we will examine their statements.

The words of Aristotle, as the accredited author of the "*De Mirabilibus*," are, chapter 104 :—

"It is said that in the island of Sardinia are edifices of the ancients, erected after the Greek manner, and many other beautiful buildings, and tholi (domes or cupolas) finished in excellent proportions. That these were built by Iolaus, the son of Iphicles, when taking the Thespiadæ, he sailed to occupy these parts," &c.

Diodorus Siculus says, lib. iv. chap. 29 and 30 :—

"After Iolaus had settled his colony, he sent for Dædalus out of Sicily, and employed him in building many and great works, which remain to this day, and, from the name of the architect, are called Dædalic."

Again, lib. v. chap. 15, he says, when speaking of the Iolesi :—

"Their captain, Iolaus, possessed himself of the island, and built in it several famous cities, and dividing the country by lot, called the people from himself, Ioleians. He likewise built public schools, and temples of the gods, and everything for the benefit of mankind, of which the remains exist even to these times."

Pausanias says, lib. x. chap. 17 :—

"The first colony was of Libyans under the Libyan Hercules; that they built no towns but lived in huts and caves, being ignorant of the art as the Sardes themselves;" that "a Greek colony under Aristæus then came, but did not build any city;" that "a colony of Iberians under Norax, the next in succession, built Nora, the first city;" and that "the fourth colony under Iolaus, composed of Thespians from Attica, built the city of Olbia."

In reference to Dædalus having been sent for out of Sicily by Iolaus, Pausanias denies it, and makes it to be an anachronism; and in regard to the discrepancy in

the different account of the colonies, and origin of the Norax colony, an explanation is elsewhere mentioned ; but in endeavouring to collect any thing from the foregoing statements relative to the Noraghe, it is necessary to enter into a further examination of Aristotle's words, "*θολοὺς*" *tholus*, and "*ῥυθμις τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς κατεξοσμένους*," *rhythmis innumeris exornati*, "finished in excellent proportions,"—for on them various arguments and conclusions have been formed.

The following is a translation of Meister's commentary on the words. (Vide Beckman's edition of Aristotle, Göttingen, 1786, 4to.) :—

"By 'tholus' we mean those chambers or roofs, whether hemispherical, circular, elliptical, or angular, which are called by the Italians, Cupole, and by us Kugelgewölbe, Helmgewölbe. The word also appears to apply to other shaped chambers, conically roofed as it were. Some suppose that it was primarily used for only the apex—(*de solo summo cuneo*)—supporting, binding, and containing the whole arch, afterward for the roof itself, and lastly for the whole building with the roof.

"That round buildings covered with domes were rare in Greece is collected from Pausanias, who mentions only six ; under which name it is remarkable that tholus should be applied to those in Sardinia.

"But I do not take these terms to apply simply to the roofs, but to the whole roofed building, and 'after the manner of the Greeks,' is placed according to the order of the columns."

"By '*rhythmis innumeris exornati*,' I understand worked out in excellent proportions, free from all restrictions, and beautifully finished (*perpoliti*)."

Beckman says, "that the tholus was that place in the

temple from which offerings and trophies were suspended," quoting Statius, *Theb.* ii. 784, and the commentary of Lactantius Placidus; and that "rhythmis" were the votive "inscriptions for the recovery of illness, escape from danger," &c.

Heyne's opinion is, "From the nature of the text, I think that 'tholus' can only be roofs or chambers excellently finished in their proportions."

Wilkins, in his edition of Vitruvius, page 280, says, "that the word 'tholus' is generically applied to all buildings of a circular form; and that Vitruvius, iv. 7, and vii. 5, uses it also to signify the roof of a circular edifice. Thus the building at Athens where the Prytanes assembled, the Choragic monument of Lysicrates, a temple at Epidaurus, in which were inscriptions, —rhythmi—referring to the cures performed by Esculapius, and the laconium of a bath, were indiscriminately called 'tholi.' But the earliest usage of the word is in Homer, where it appears three times consecutively: 'Odyssey' xxii. 442, 459, and 466, in the description of the palace of Ulysses, and means a round building on pillars to keep provisions and kitchen utensils—a vaulted kitchen according to Voss."

With these various significations and examples, it is impossible to say in what sense Aristotle uses the word; certainly none of them are applicable to a Noraghe, except in the general characteristic of being a round building, and having a dome-roofed chamber. But as this passage of Aristotle has been brought forward so strongly by Radcliff and other authorities to strengthen their Pelasgic theories, and to confirm their opinions that the Noraghe are of that architecture, it may be observed that Aristotle speaks distinctly of three kinds of buildings, those "of the ancients," "and many others beau-

tiful," and "domes;" and that the grammatical construction in the Greek will hardly admit of the expression "after the Greek manner" being applied to any of them except those "of the ancients."

But though it is true that in reference to the domes he specifically states them to have been built by Iolaus, and that Diodorus Siculus says that personage built "temples of the gods," is this sufficient evidence to conclude that the Noraghe were built by the Greeks?

The following objections may be raised to the assumption:—None of these buildings are "finished in excellent proportions," or have any marks of having had inscriptions, if "rhythmus" may be so translated. The Pelasgic, Cyclopean, Grecian, and Etruscan buildings are essentially different in their form and arrangement, and except in the latter the cone is little known, still less is it the prominent feature. Those nations have no where left the Sepulture de is Gigantes,—the constant concomitant of the Noraghe. If, according to Pausanias, there were only six domed buildings in Greece, is it probable there would be more than 3,000 built by Grecians in Sardinia?—that with three or four exceptions they should all have been destroyed in the one, and so many have survived in the other country?

It may be safely asserted that no ancient author, except Aristotle, speaks of them, or of any similar to them in other countries.

The researches of Winckelman, Thiersch, Niebuhr, Münter, Visconti, Botta, Micali, Champollion, Quatremère de Quincey, Drummond, Leake, Gell, Hamilton, Dodwell, Stuart, Hamilton Gray, and Fellows, by their descriptions and explanations of the various ancient architectural remains as extant or restored, instead of throwing any light on these Sarde monuments by

analogy, tend to prove their entire difference and dissimilarity.

The controverted points of distinction or identity of the Cyclopean and Pelasgic architecture, will in no way militate against their respective differences from that of the Noraghe; but as the latter have been frequently supposed to be of that date, style, and construction, we may merely refer to the best authenticated specimens of the Cyclopean, namely, Tiryns and Mycene, to refute the supposition.

Their peculiar characteristics are so well known as to require no notice beyond the circumstance of the polygonal style found in them being of a later date than the rest of the building; whereas there are no evidences of different styles of construction in the Noraghe, except in one or two instances, where something of the Cyclopean character exists, from the material of which they are built being so hard as to have evidently defied the few implements used in their construction, and consequently to have produced a slight irregularity in their shape and position. No other remains in Greece, not even the Treasury of Minyas at Orchomenos, nor those structures in Italy and the western coast of Asia Minor, usually called Cyclopean, and to which a Pelasgic origin has been assigned, have any affinity.

The Etruscan buildings, by the description of those no longer existing, as well as from the sepulchres and chambers now known, offer no assistance in the elucidation of the subject, though a few bronze articles have been discovered in them, analogous, though not similar to some relics found in Sardinia and the Balearic Islands; and the existence of the cone has been advanced as an affinity; but the conical tumuli, such as those on Monte Nerone, Cervetri, and in other places,

are raised on a narrow stone base, and in every respect differ from the Noraghe.

The observations of Mrs. Hamilton Gray on Etruscan, Pelasgic, and Cyclopean styles, are here very applicable:—"Etruscan architecture is known by very large hewn stones in the form of an oblong square, being joined together with or without cement, and every alternate row meeting in the centre of those below it; or otherwise one row of stones lying lengthways, and the next edgeways, which produces nearly the same effect. Pelasgic, if I understand the term aright, consists of huge hewn blocks cemented or adhering together, but not always quadrilateral or rectangular, whilst the stones of Cyclopean architecture are of all sizes unhewn, and are fitted into each other without cement; being masses of all shapes built together, and adhering by their own weight."

The form, style, and characteristics of the Indian, Assyrian, and Egyptian architectural remains shew still less resemblance to the Noraghe than either the Cyclopean, Pelasgic, or Etruscan; and the recent discoveries at Nineveh, by Botta, Layard, and Rawlinson, confirm the differences. Nor do the Topes in the Jellalabad country, as described by Masson in Wilson's "*Ariana Antiqua*," assist our enquiries.

On the supposition that the Celtic monuments bear a relation to the Sepulture de is Gigantes, and that the latter are connected with the Noraghe, some relation might be found between the first and last-mentioned remains; but the first premiss is an assumption on which we shall have occasion to offer some remarks.

No buildings are extant in the country known as the ancient Phœnicia, from which any information can be obtained on the style of architecture prevalent there

among that people; but we may follow them in their migrations. Among the ruins of Carthage there is not even a vestige analogous to a Noraghe.

Without referring to the Phœnician coins and articles of ornament and use found in Malta, to confirm the statement of Diodorus Siculus, "This island is a colony of the Phœnicians, who, trading to the western ocean, used it as a place of refuge," (a period assigned by chronologists between 1519 and 1270 B.C.), we may mention the Torre del Gigante, in Gozo, attributed by general assent to that people, though its style of masonry has been sometimes considered Cyclopean. The sole resemblance to a Noraghe is in its external form, but the internal and various *minutiæ* indicate a different style and era.

Vide Badger's description of Malta and Gozo, p. 309; *Memoire sur le Temple de Gozo*, in the "Nouvelles Annales de la section Française de l'Institut Archæologique (Premier cahier: Paris, 1828)," "Histoire de Malte, par M. Miège, Bruxelles," 4 vols. 8vo. Vol. ii. p. 73.

The Balearic Islands, colonised by the Phœnicians, have the Talayots—the only known buildings of a cognate character to those of Sardinia. I much regret having been unable to visit them while at Minorca some years since, being there but a very short time; but the reader is referred to the description given by La Marmora of the few he partially examined; to "Las Antigüedades Celticas de la Isla de Minorca desde los tiempos mas remotos hasta el Siglo IV. de la era Cristiana:—Por el Dn. Juan Ramis y Ramis, &c., &c., Mahon, 1818;" to "Armstrong's History of Minorca;" and to the "Voyage aux Isles Baléares, par M. Gresset de Saint Sauveur."

The Talayots—a diminutive of Atalaya, meaning the Giants' Burrow—differ from the Noraghe, in that they have only one principal chamber or floor; that the minor lateral coned chambers are unconnected with each other; the style of masonry is more Cyclopean, and that many of them are surrounded with circles of stones and supposed altars, scarcely ever met with in Sardinia, though it is possible they may have existed and are demolished.

On the exterior of one of the Talayots is a ramp ascending to the summit, presumed to have been originally part of the spiral corridor, like that in the Noraghe, but that the outer wall of the building has been destroyed. Armstrong, on the contrary, considering the ramp to have been originally thus built, says that the commodious way by which it was so easily ascended on the outside is a strong argument in favour of the opinion that these structures were used to discover the approach of an enemy, and to warn the natives of their impending danger;—and on this supposition he calls them *speculæ* or watchmounts, as well as repositories of the illustrious dead, for which purpose, he concludes, they were essentially constructed.

Not far from Ciudadela, in the Dels Tudons district, in Minorca, is a building called Nao, from its supposed resemblance to a ship, and considered, with some exceptions, homogeneous with the Sepulture de is Gigantes.

Nearly 200 of these Talayots are extant, but upwards of one-third are in complete ruins.

Independently of bronze ornaments and utensils, apparently of an Etruscan origin, several have been discovered rather similar to those found in Sardinia and Gozo.

Notwithstanding the well-authenticated visits of the "merchants of the sea" to Tarshish, the Spanish coast, their altar at Gades, and temples at Tartessus, Spain possesses no memorial of a Noraghic character.

We will next see the supposed affinity to the Round Towers in Ireland, but without examining the contested points of their founders and purposes,—whether Phœnician, Danish, Pagan, or Christian, or used as beacons, belfries, penitentiaries, anchorite towers, repositories of church utensils, minarets for calling to prayer, monuments of the principal establishers of Christianity, episcopal indices to point out the cathedrals, Pagan sepulchral monuments, or temples of the fire-worshippers,—according to the several opinions entertained by different authors.

Their number has been variously stated from eighty-three to 118; the supposed points of similarity are, that they are round, divided into stories, have a conical arched roof of mason work, that articles of metallurgy and bodies have been found in them, and finally that their vernacular name, Cill-gagh or Gol-cagh, is said to mean fire and divinity.

But in these very peculiarities it must be observed respectively of them that they are not more than from eight to fifteen feet in diameter; the stories are generally marked off with exterior bands or beltings; the roof is invariably formed of overlaying stones, in the manner of inverted steps; that the articles found are peculiar in themselves; and that the bodies were discovered under the floorings;—all points of dissimilarity to those of the Sarde buildings. The interpretation of the name as connected with fire, to which the word Nor-aghe is also said to refer, is the only coincidence of any importance. The points of

positive dissimilarity are, that independently of being only from eight to fifteen feet in diameter, they are from 70 feet to 180 high; that they have a circular projecting base with a plinth, the stones are elaborately cut, joined with, though sometimes without, cement; and that, though closely fitting to each other, they are not in regular horizontal layers. The door is from six to fifteen feet above the ground, varies in position, is broad at base, narrow at top, or semicircular or lancet arched; and is usually ornamented with bands on the external face of the architrave; there is no spiral ramp or ascent; each floor is lighted by a window, and the upper story by four or six windows, facing the cardinal points; sculpture is found in parts, and also ornaments, as chevron work over the doorways; and, in regard to position, they are almost always found near churches.

The Boens in Kerry have a certain affinity, but too remote to assist us.

The tumulus of New Grange, on the banks of the Boyne, between Drogheda and Slane, County Meath, should not be left unmentioned. It was discovered in 1699 under a mound covering nearly two acres in extent, and made of stone, with a slight coating of earth. A long, narrow passage, not more than one foot six inches high and two feet broad, led to a chamber,—thus described by Mr. Petrie:—

“It is about twenty-two feet in diameter, covered with a dome of a bee-hive form, constructed of massive stones laid horizontally, and projecting one beyond the other till they approximate, and are finally capped with a single one; the height of the dome is about twenty feet, the chamber has three quadrangular recesses forming a cross, one facing the entrance gallery and one on each side. In each of these recesses is placed

a stone urn or sarcophagus, of a simple bowl form, two of which remain. Of these recesses, the east and west are about eight feet square, the north is somewhat deeper. The entire length of the cavern, from the entrance of the gallery to the end of the recess, is eighty-one feet eight inches." The building has various marks of sculpture—some of even refined workmanship—but none of the Ogham character.

No notice need be made of the numberless cromlechs in Ireland, beyond their existence and disconnection with the Round Towers; nor of the many relics discovered and attributed to a Phœnician origin.

The Scottish Dunes are circular towers, but the internal arrangements are entirely different; and their comparatively modern date and purposes are generally conceded.

The Dune of Dornadilla, in the parish of Duirnes, on Lord Reay's estate at Strathmore, at first presents a Noraghic appearance; but the description by the Rev. Alexander Pope, in a letter to George Peton, dispels the expected similitude.

It has been assumed that the remnant of the Tyrians, who were to be saved according to the prophecy of Isaiah (chaps. xxiii. and xxiv.), migrated on the fall of Tyre, B.C. 332; and that, according to the other prophecy (Isaiah xxiii. 7): — "Her own feet shall carry her afar off to sojourn," they reached Central America, and there founded the cities of Copan, Uxmel, Palanque, and Santa Cruz del Quiche; but it is perfectly evident, from the works of Lord Kingsborough and Mr. Stephens, that those wonderful remains, whether of Tyrian origin or not, have no characteristics to identify them with the genus and style of the Noraghe. The only points requiring notice

are the records and description of a large altar called El Sacrificatorio, having been used for sacrifices similar to those of the Phœnicians, and of the Israelitish and Canaanitish origin of the people.

We must give the words of Mr. Stephens:—"El Sacrificatorio, or the Place of Sacrifice, is a quadrangular stone structure, sixty-six feet on each side at the base, and rising in a pyramidal form to the height, in its present condition, of thirty-three feet. On three sides there is a range of steps in the middle, each step seventeen inches high, and but eight inches on the upper surface, which makes the range so steep that in descending some caution is necessary. At the corners are four buttresses of cut stone, diminishing in size from the line of the square, and apparently extended to support the structure. On the side facing the west there are no steps, but the surface is smooth and covered with stucco, gray from long exposure. By breaking a little off the corners we saw that there were different layers of stucco, doubtless put on at different times, and all had been ornamented with painted figures. In one place we made out part of the body of a leopard, well drawn and coloured. The top of the Sacrificatorio is broken and ruined, but there is no doubt that it once supported an altar for those sacrifices of human victims which struck even the Spaniards with horror. It was barely large enough for the altar and officiating priests, and the idol to whom the sacrifice was offered. The whole was in full view of the people at the foot."

Without entering into the records of the Toltecas, or into Mr. Jones' theories in his "History of Ancient America," that in the North American Indians may be found one of the lost tribes of Israel, and that the

Tyrians were the early inhabitants of Central America, it may be mentioned that many of the paintings and portions of sculpture found on the walls and among the ruins of the ancient cities, are said to represent the human sacrifices made to Moloch and Baal; but, whether rightly or wrongly interpreted, they bear an analogy to the Sarde idols, though the Sacrificatorio in its form and style, has none to the Noraghe; and it is on account of the former curious coincidence that the details of the latter have been here extracted from Mr. Stephens' work.

Having hitherto endeavoured to shew by negatives what these Sarde remains are *unlike*, and to find where and in what respect any buildings in other countries are most analogous to them, we can only arrive at the full belief of the non-existence of their exact counterparts elsewhere, and that the Talayots in the Balearic Islands have the nearest affinity.

Devoid of any positive light as to their origin or purpose, the results of speculation and conjecture have hitherto been most unsatisfactory; for, in all the researches and investigations, some points of difference, discrepancy, and refutation, have arisen to nullify the various hypotheses which have been formed from the existence of certain facts, from the combination of peculiar circumstances, from intrinsic characteristics, and from extrinsic evidence and analogy.

We may reduce the enquiry to the simple questions, Were the Noraghe built by the autochthones of the island, of whom we have no knowledge, or by the earliest colonists, of whom we have but little information; and, in either case, for what purpose did they serve?

That they may have been the religious or sepulchral

monuments of the autochthones is certainly the safest supposition, for it can meet with but little refutation, owing to the paucity of argument to prove them any thing else.

But without asserting either from negative arguments or from baseless fabrics of archæological hypotheses, a probability may be shewn of their very ancient eastern origin. Their wonderful strength and solidity, uniformity of design, though difference in size, the peculiar direction and smallness of the entrance, the narrow winding passages, domed chambers, position on a natural or artificial elevation, whether on hills or in valleys, the small aperture for the admission of light, and the circumstances of the *Sepultura de is Gigantes* being concomitant remains, are peculiarities which evidently indicate a religious or sepulchral purpose. Comparatively but very few are so constructed as to permit the supposition of their having been merely sepulchres; but there is nothing in their shape to render it impossible that they may have been altars or temples for the worship of the heavenly bodies, or for the earliest sacrifices and idolatries recorded in the Old Testament.

But how could these have reached Sardinia? When was there a migration of any of the earliest people westward, by which such customs could have been imported into the island?

Though there is no express mention of their having reached Sardinia, there is sufficient collateral evidence to warrant the assumption.

Among the various migrations mentioned in the Old Testament, it is now clearly understood that the Philistines, when the very early eastern tide of population pressed on them, quitted the mainland for the islands;

and that they inhabited Crete and subsequently returned to their native land before the date of Moses.

The Hebrew word Philistine meaning wanderer, in the Septuagint, is translated by "men of another tribe." God says, (Amos ix. 7,) "Have I not brought the Philistines from Caphtor?" In Jeremiah (xlvii. 4), they are called "the remnant of the country (or isle) of Caphtor;" but for evidence of the identity of the Caphtorim and Philistim, that the island of Crete was peopled by them, and for the supposition that Caphtor was Crete, vide the condensed and learned authorities in Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical literature.

It should be remembered, moreover, that the religion of the Philistines was very analogous to that of the Phœnicians.

That Cyprus was peopled by the very early Phœnician colonies is indisputably proved; and that it was previously occupied by the Chittim,—the descendants of Javan, the son of Japhet (Genesis x. 4), is almost equally certain. The word Chittim has been considered by some commentators to have been applied in some passages of holy writ to the islands of the Mediterranean collectively, but there are specific occasions in which it evidently means Cyprus; and it is recorded by various writers that the town of Citium—the modern Chitti—was built by the Chittim. The well-known Phœnician inscriptions found there, offer no elucidation of the subject before us, beyond the mention of a temple of Astarte, (vide Gesenius lib. ii. ch. 3. *Inscriptiones Citienses*) and some other deities of that nation.

In regard to Sicily, it is specifically stated by Thucydides, lib. vi., to have been occupied by the Phœnicians; and the names of many towns and places, not a vestige of which remains, indicate that origin. But it

was at an early period ; and the same causes of destruction which have swept them away, have left but few of the Greek and Roman monuments erected by those nations during their dominion in the island.

But how is it that neither Noraghe nor Sepulture de is Gigantes are found in Corsica—apparently the sister island of Sardinia? Was it unknown to the Canaanites and Phœnicians? It certainly is not mentioned by either sacred or profane writers till a comparatively late period ; and Bochart observes, “ It is doubtful whether the Phœnicians occupied Corsica, nor do the ancients inform us in sufficiently express terms.” (Lib. i. ch. 32.) The earliest mention is by Herodotus, who says a colony from Phocæa in Asia Minor founded Alalia, about 564 B.C. ; and Polybius in speaking of the Carthaginians merely says they obtained possession of the islands in the Sardinian and Tyrrhenian seas ; but previous to these dates there is no evidence of a Phœnician, still less of an earlier people having occupied it.

The Phœnician, a branch of the great Semitic or Aramæan nations, originally dwelt, according to Herodotus, on the shores of the Erythrean sea ; but Strabo says there were two islands in the Persian Gulf, Tyrus or Tylus and Aradus on which were found temples, similar to those of the Phœnicians, and inhabitants who affirmed that the Phœnicians went out from them as colonists, though the period is unknown, but it must have been very early, as Sidon was a great city in the time of Joshua, 1444 B.C.

It is clearly ascertained, too, that the original inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon had been expelled from their cities before the time of Joshua, and that the occupants in his time were a distinct people from the Canaanites.

In either case the expulsion and migration of those people did occur, and there is no reason to doubt that the religion of both the Canaanites and Phœnicians was of a similarly pagan and idolatrous character.

Besides the seven tribes of the Canaanites specifically mentioned to be dispossessed wholly or partially by the Israelites, many living to the north of the promised land were also exterminated either by sword or expulsion. There is no positive mention of the countries to which they fled on the approach of Moses, but that among their migrations some went to Africa on the approach of Joshua is known by historical evidence and tradition. Procopius states that there were at Tigisis-Tingis, in Mauritania, two columns on which were inscribed in Phœnician characters, "We are those who fled from the face of Joshua the robber, the son of Naue."

St. Augustin—1900 years after a migration of the Phœnicians into Libya, states that the people about Carthage and Hippo still called themselves Canaanites; and Eusebius mentions that Tripoli was colonised by the Canaanites, whom the Israelites drove out of their country.

Though the Phœnicians have left no memorials at Tartessus, it may be here repeated that, on their arrival on the Spanish coast, they found a town of that name already existing, and that it is considered to have been founded by the migrating descendants of Tarshish, the grandson of Japhet (Gen. x. 4), as Cyprus has been shewn to have been peopled by a race from his brother Chittim. From this Tartessus is said to have proceeded the so called Iberian colony, under Norax to Sardinia. "By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided." Genesis x. 5.

The direction of the Canaanitish emigrations might also be assumed from the probability that the Phœnicians may have followed their example and footsteps ; and as the expression of Diodorus Siculus, lib. v., relative to Phœnician colonies migrating, " some to Sicily and the neighbouring islands, some to Libya and Sardinia and Iberia," is proved by Phœnician coins, inscriptions, and other remains found in those places, it may be an additional ground of presumption of their previous occupation by some Canaanitish colony.

But neither the sacred nor profane writers of antiquity give any account of the form of the temples of the early Canaanitish and Phœnician nations ; and those mentioned in later times, such as the temple of Astarte at Ascalon, destroyed by the Scythians 680 B.C., might naturally be very different to those erected at an earlier period, as the religions of the Aramæan families were changed and diversified from their primitive simplicity to the various forms in which they were found in subsequent periods in different countries.

Jahn observes, that " every nation and city had its own gods, which at first acquired some celebrity by the worship of some particular family merely, but were at length worshipped by the other families of that city or nation, yet each family had its separate household or tutelary gods." The erection therefore of temples by colonists in a new country would differ according to their peculiar legends and worship of a chief or deity, and be dependent on the nature of the soil, climate, and a variety of circumstances. It may be argued that no positive similarity between the Noraghe and the idolatrous temples of the colonies from the Canaanitish and Phœnician nations can be proved by history, or by any extant remains ; but it may be answered, that it is rather

by the non-existence of such buildings in those countries which were ravaged and destroyed, and whose inhabitants were expatriated according to prophecy,—by the sole existence of them in a direction to which those inhabitants migrated,—and by the knowledge that other nations adopted and have left monuments and records of a dissimilar style and character, that the hypothesis of the Canaanitish origin of the Noraghe may be strengthened.

The Carthaginian occupation of the island, and the “a Pœnis admixto Afrorum genere Sardi” need here only be mentioned in reference to their custom of sacrificing children to Saturn.

Justinian states, that ambassadors went to the Carthaginians from Darius, circa 500 B.C., with an edict to prevent the immolation of human beings; and that a cessation of such practices formed part of the terms of peace between them and Gelon, circa 480 B.C. Sardinia was at this period previously occupied by them, and if the Noraghe were at all connected with these sacrifices, their disuse and decay might have then commenced.

These customs were undoubtedly inherited from the Phœnicians; and as those “merchants of many isles” and the Japhetian nations had analogous principles of idolatry in their religions, a descent and affinity may be traced through and between the Carthaginian, Phœnician, Canaanitish, and Japhetian forms of worship.

In regard to this Saturn, Jahn says, “he devoured his own offspring, a circumstance of which indeed we have an imitation in the custom of offering children to him in sacrifice, which existed among the Canaanites, Phœnicians, and Carthaginians. by whom he was known

under the various names of Moloc, Molec, Malcom, and Milcom.

The cruel and intolerant creed of the Carthaginians, as we know by their recorded destruction of crops and prohibition of the renewal beyond a certain quantity in Sardinia, would not probably have spared the temples and religion of the inhabitants had they been dissimilar to their own ; so that their non-destruction of them may be a presumptive evidence of the similarity, if not identity of worship, and that they possibly used the Noraghe for the same or cognate ceremonies, which had been introduced centuries previously by their progenitors and predecessors.

On the Roman conquest of the island, and expulsion of the Carthaginians, we may fairly suppose these buildings to have been no longer used for religious purposes ; and an evidence of it is found at a Noraghe at Pula, where an aqueduct was built by the Romans on its ruins.

In speaking of those extraordinary antiquities, known as the Sarde Idols, we shall attempt to shew that the greater part of them were of Canaanitish worship—the miniature representation of some of the large and original gods which those nations adored—especially of Moloch, Baal, Astarte or Astaroth, Adonis or Tammuz ; the very objects of that idolatry so frequently and emphatically denounced in the Old Testament. Distinct and peculiar in their character, their counterparts are no more to be met with out of Sardinia, than the Noraghe themselves ; and this circumstance, in conjunction with the fact that many of them have been found in, and the greater part near those buildings, may suggest a further proof that they may have been directly or indirectly connected with each other, in either a religious, sepulchral, or united character.

The few other articles hitherto discovered are of common pottery, apparently Carthaginian and Roman ; some pieces of porphyry, of a wedge shape, like a stone-breaker's hammer ; and others of the same material which were probably sharpening stones. They reminded me of those in the Icelandic collection in the Museum at Copenhagen, the natives of which island used them before the introduction of metal implements.

The Sepulture de is Gigantes—the tombs of the giants—another of the antiquities of the island, may also be alluded to, though the subject is fully mentioned presently.

If a Canaanitish race migrated here, nothing is more probable than that the tradition and worship of the Giants would be also imported ; nay, it is even possible that some of the actual gigantic races of Rephaim, Anakim, Philistines, Emim, or Zamzummim might have actually arrived in Sardinia.

Though Sarde traditions sanction such a belief, it is evident that the Giants and Noraghe were not directly connected, because they never could have entered them, but on the supposition that a Canaanitish colony may have erected tombs as monuments to the memory of a chief or hero, characteristic of and proportionate to the reality or legend of his size, the Noraghe and Sepulture might be connected with each other as buildings erected by the same people.

On these last grounds an affinity may also be traced to the Perdas Fittas and Conical Stones, both assumed to have an eastern origin.

The etymology of the word Noraghe or Nurhag may strengthen the supposition of their ancient and eastern origin, and religious purpose. The Abbé Arri consi-

ders it a Phœnician or Carthaginian word, and of which the Hebrew or rather Chaldee 𐤍𐤁 fire, is the root.

If pronounced without the *n*, Our-ag, or Ur-ag, it might indicate a similar allusion to fire or light; and the words of Nimrod, though referring to a very different subject, may be quoted as explanatory:—"The appearance of fire and solar light is like that of gold, which metal did by its colour and brightness obtain the name of 'aour'—the *or* of France, *oro* of Spain and Italy, *aurum* of the Latins, and *ouron* of the Greeks; the word *aour*, *our*, *ur*, meaning light or fire—the *urim* of the Lord—the *ouranon* of the Greeks—the *urere* of the Latins."

By some the words *νσοραχης*, "a new rock," and *νσῦρα ἐχῆν*, "having strength" (loosely translated), and by others Norax the founder of an Iberian colony, have been also given as derivations.

Without entering into Gesenius's observations on 2 Kings xxiii. 5, it is allowed that the Canaanitish and Phœnician god, Baal, was the sun, as Astaroth was the moon, and was worshipped as the first principle,—the heat and light of life,—before Moses entered those countries; and as such, the names Nurhag and Our-ag might possibly have descended from some Phœnician or Aramæan word, indicative of the worship and attributes of the deity, or in some way referable to the buildings. They could not have been applied to the worship of the element itself in later periods, as the Persians and other fire-worshippers never used buildings or idols. Vide Herod: i. 181.

The name of several Noraghe, "Adoni," reminds one of Adonis, the Osiris of the Egyptians, the Tammuz of the Canaanites, that deity whose idolatrous festival is mentioned by Ezekiel (viii. 14); besides

its usage and signification in other places in the Old Testament.

These circumstances have not been adduced as proofs, but merely as etymological coincidences and arguments.

The last point of consideration is how far these buildings are adapted for such idolatrous and sacrificial purposes ; and little can be gained by the enquiry.

Various kinds of altars are spoken of in the Old Testament ; some, low on the ground, others in high places, and on the tops of buildings. Vide 1 Kings xviii. 26 ; Jeremiah xix. 5, and xxxii. 29 ; Zephaniah i. 5.

The Noraghe, as previously mentioned, are all built on a raised base ; they are high, and the platform on their summit might be well adapted for sacrifice ; but it would be mere fanciful speculation to attempt any explanation of the domed chambers, passages, and parts of the building, as there is no standard by which any test or comparison could be applied.

The various articles discovered in them tend to prove a sacrificial and religious, rather than a sepulchral, character of building ; and in regard to the cells and recesses in the chambers, it should be observed that a large portion of the Noraghe have none, and those which exist are so irregular in size and shape that they convey no idea of graves or burial places. Some might certainly have served, but others are not large enough for that purpose.

The human remains occasionally found in them, have not had any indication of embalment, or any other process by which they could have existed between 3000 and 4000 years.

In concluding this subject it must be repeated, in

answer to the natural question which may arise, why are there no traces of similar remains in those countries where the Canaanitish and Phœnician nations dwelt? that the fulfilment of the express law of God and the prophecies would account for these monuments having been swept off the face of those countries, no less than for the expulsion of the inhabitants; and the fact that scarcely any are found in the countries whither they emigrated, may be accounted for by the circumstance that these nations have all been subjected to the fire, sword, and destruction of invaders and enemies, to a degree in comparison to which Sardinia has suffered but little in ancient times.

We have now endeavored to arrive at the conclusion that these extraordinary monuments were probably temples of sacrifice and worship, built by the very early Canaanites, in their migration when expelled from their country; and that as such they may have been occasionally used as a depository of the idols, or remains of the immolated victims, or even of some exalted personages connected with their worship and rites.

These deductions, made from hypotheses, open to refutation, and from inferences worked by a negative process, remain to be disproved by positive facts and clear evidence of what the buildings are.

The author has only to remark, that having seen many of the antiquities in Asia Minor, and the greater part of those in the different countries in Europe, he can safely recommend the Noraghe to the attention of antiquaries and travellers, feeling confident that though Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Cyclopean, Pelasgic, Etrurian, Greek, and Roman remains are so far superior in extent, workmanship, ornament, and historical associations, none of them have that charm of mystery

which, as a halo, emanates from, and enshrouds those of Sardinia.

The Sepolture de is Gigantes, to which we shall have occasion to allude, now demand a brief but general explanation, though the minor details and differences are mentioned in their respective localities.

They may be described as a series of large stones placed together without any cement, enclosing a foss or vacuum, from fifteen to thirty-six feet long, from three to six wide, the same in depth, with immense flat stones resting on them as a covering; but though the latter are not always found, it is evident by a comparison with the more perfect Sepolture that they once existed, and have been destroyed or removed. The foss runs invariably from north-west to south-east; and at the latter point is a large upright head-stone averaging from ten to fifteen feet high, varying in its form



SEPOLTURA DE IS GIGANTES.

from the square, elliptical and conical to that of three-quarters of an egg, and having in many instances an aperture about eighteen inches square at its base. On either side of this stele commences a series of separate

stones, irregular in size and shape, but forming an arc, the chord of which varies from twenty to forty feet ; so



SEPOLTURA DE IS GIGANTES.

that the whole figure somewhat resembles the bow and shank of a spur.

Judging by the many remains of those partially destroyed, their number, though unknown, must have been considerable ; but some of the best specimens now extant are the following:—The Sepoltura dessu Paladinu, near the Noraghe Alsu, in the Nulvi district ; several in the vicinity of Luras ; one between



Sindia and Padria ; another on the east side of the Planu de Murtas ; two at Tamuli, to the west-north-west of Macomer ; one on the Goronna Hill, to the west of Paulo Latino ; the Perda de Borore, near the village of that name ; another on the east side of it, towards Dualchi, called Perda de san Biangiu ; the Perda de s' Altare, between Dualchi and Silanus ; the

Altare di Logula, to the west-north-west of Sarule; one in the vicinity of Esterzili; two called the Genna Acuzza, about two hours from Esterzili; the Perda Latta, near Loculi; the Perda Ebraica, near Galtelli; in the Galtelli, Orosei, and Oliena districts are the "Sa ena de Loghe" Orroule, Altarittu, Portale d'Oliena, Gigantinu dessa pira mela, Gigantinu de Loitti, Muriaglio, and a variety of others without any peculiar name.

The term Sepulture de is Gigantes is generally applied by the Sardes to these monuments, from the belief that they were the veritable tombs of giants; but the other names, the Perda Ebraica, Altare,—the stone of the Jews, the altar, &c.,—are from the idea of their having been places of sacrifice.

If we failed in the attempt to find any buildings analogous to the Noraghe, except the Talayots, it would be more than useless to adopt again a negative argument to shew that no country—not even the Balearic Isles—have any remains similar to the Sepulture, and to prove that they are essentially distinct and peculiar to Sardinia.

Plutarch, in his "Life of Sertorius," mentions that, when that general took the town of Tingis, in Mauritania,—the same place where stood the Phœnician inscription, "We are those who fled from the face of Joshua, the robber, the son of Naue," (page 132),—he broke open the sepulchre of Antæus, a hero and giant of Phœnician origin, and venerated by the Tingesi: "But how great was his surprise when he beheld a body sixty cubits long. He immediately offered sacrifices, and closed up the tomb, which added greatly to the respect and reputation it had before."

This circumstance is mentioned, but not as attach-

ing any importance to it, beyond the curious coincidence of finding a gigantic sepulchre existing, and held in veneration in a place to which the Canaanites and Phœnicians had migrated ; but the silence of Plutarch, Velleius Paterculus, ii. 30 ; Florus, iii. 21 ; Valerius Max., i. 2, vii. 3 ; and Appian de Civi., as to the nature of the sepulchre, prevents any comparison being made with a Sardinian Sepultura.

The shape of the foss and head-stone fairly admits of the probability that they were graves, as some of the earliest forms of sepulchres on record are the upright stones with superincumbent slabs, such as the Druidical cistvaens, and some tombs in Greece ; but all these are entirely different in point of size and character ; so that, unassisted by any positively collateral or analogical elucidation, we can only venture on a hypothetical origin and purpose of the Sepulture.

That the legends and creeds of the existence of Giants might have existed among the autochthones of the island is undeniable, for a similar belief is found in almost all countries ; but in speaking of the supposed connection between the Noraghe and the Sepulture, we have already observed, that, “ if a Canaanitish race migrated here, nothing is more probable than that the tradition and worship of the Giants would be also imported ; ” and that it is even “ possible that some of the actual gigantic races of the Rephaim, Emim, Zamzummim, Anakim or Philistines, might have actually arrived in Sardinia.”

In regard to the Rephaim, a people who in the time of Abraham dwelt in the country beyond the Jordan, in and about Astaroth Karnaim, it is now the received opinion of Biblical archæologists, that they were the most ancient or aboriginal inhabitants of Palestine prior

to the Canaanites, by whom they were gradually dispossessed of the region west of the Jordan, and driven beyond that river. Some of the race, however, remained in Palestine Proper so late as the invasion of the land by the Hebrews, and are repeatedly mentioned as "the sons of Anak" and "the remnant of the Rephaim" (Numb. xiii. 28; Deut. ix. 2; Josh. xv. 14); and a few families existed in the land as late as the time of David (2 Sam. xxi. 26). These, as well as the Emim and Zamzummim, two of the southern tribes, and the Anakim, worshipped Astaroth, whose idols we lately mentioned as discovered in the Noraghe.

Of the origin and emigration of the Philistines, we have already spoken.

But though the shape of the Sepulture fairly admits of the assumption that they might have been tombs, it is quite evident that they were not made in proportion to the actual size of the giants, as the tallest recorded in Holy Writ were Og and Goliath; and the bedstead of the former was only nine cubits long and four wide—about thirteen feet six inches long, and six feet wide; the latter was only six cubits and a span—about nine feet eight inches high.

But that they may have been memorials or monuments to the memory of some of the chiefs of their original country, beings of high endowments, if not of a superior nature, whose memory and perhaps worship were imported by a colony, is, as previously mentioned, not improbable. For instance, we find the iron bedstead of the giant Og was thus preserved as a memorial by the Ammonites.

In conjecturing what object might have been placed in the grave as commemorative and representative of one of these heroes or giants, the embalmed body of a

man of ordinary stature, a model of a figure of unnatural size, and many others suggest themselves ; but the remains hitherto discovered in the graves have evidently been placed there at a comparatively recent period, and are confined to some human bones, some bronze arms of ordinary size, and common earthen-ware vases—the two latter of Carthaginian and Roman workmanship.

Aristotle, in his dissertation on “the immutability of time, notwithstanding our perception or unconsciousness of what occurs,” incidentally illustrates it by the expression,—“so it is to those who are fabulously said to sleep with the heroes in Sardinia, when they shall rise up.”—(Physicis, iv. 3.)

Simplicius, in his commentary on the passage, makes it referable to the bodies of the Thespiadæ, which having been preserved without decay or decomposition, appeared as it were to sleep. If the heroes were embalmed and thus “slept,” the classical reverie that these Sepulture may have been their mausolea may, with parity of reason, be applied to the conservation of bodies of other heroes, besides those of a Greek origin ; especially as that nation was so prone to apply and attribute everything wonderful to their ancestors.

In some of the Sepulture, at Tamuli and Esterzili, there is an excavation in the stone at the north-west end of the grave, which might have served as a pillow for the head, being in shape and position well adapted for such a purpose. It is difficult to form any surmise of the use of the small square aperture in the stele at the opposite end of the foss. It has been urged, that the Sepulture could not have served for graves, because by this aperture an animal might have entered, or the sanctity of the dead been otherwise violated ; but this

objection is counterbalanced by the fact that the aperture is not found in all the Sepulture, and by the probability that it was formerly closed by some stone now lost.

Their invariable position, north-west and south-east, is not only remarkable in itself, but for its analogy to the entrances of the Noraghe, which are generally at the latter point of the compass.

The peculiarity of their being thus faced to the south-east might imply, as La Marmora observes, some connection with the rising sun, whose early rays would thus be shed upon the object; and if it were the figure of a human being, the horizontal stone placed over his head might have been easily moved on the feasts celebrated to his honor, so as to admit not only the rays but the libations and the performance of other similar ceremonies prevalent in the east, without deranging the rest of the grave, or damaging the figure. Would the aperture in the stele then serve for any purpose?

The only trace of work—sculpture it cannot be called—on any of the stones, is on some of the steles, and consists merely of a well-defined border; many of the stones, however, shew they have been roughly shapen by some instrument, in the same rude manner as those of the Noraghe.

The coincidence of two such peculiar monuments in the same island, their non-existence elsewhere, and that both are indicative of some abstract principle of grandeur and power, practically carried out in their construction, are strong reasons for the presumption that they may have had some mutual reference to each other. If the Sepulture were graves, would the Noraghe be so also; or, if the Noraghe were tombs, what were their frequent concomitants the Sepulture?

By the supposition that the latter were the depositories of some hero, or of the figure of one, whether of common stature or actual gigantic height, according to the tradition of the people, and that the Noraghe were temples or altars of some idolatrous creed, the co-existence of the two monuments might be accounted for. If a similar objection be raised as in the case of the Noraghe, why have not these Sepulture been found in the countries where the Aramæan, Canaanitish, and Phœnician nations dwelt, and to which they emigrated? the same reason might be here applied; so that finally, a Canaanitish race with its idolatrous religion is apparently the only source from whence we may derive either of these extraordinary erections.

CHAPTER III.

Alghero to Sassari.—Olmedo Race-course.—Noraghe.—Incredulous Pastori.—Monte Doglia.—Wild Boar hunting.—The Nurra District.—Le Saline.—The “Tonnara,” or Tunny Fishery.—Night Journey from Sassari, for the “Mattanza” or Slaughter.—Malaria.—The Tunny Trade.—Opinions of the Ancients.—Sinister Eye.—Plan of the Madraga.—The Rais.—Operations.—Excitement.—The Foratico, Camera dell Oro, and Camera di Morte.—Invocation of Saints.—Mattanza delayed.—Invocations and Offerings.—Attack and Victory.—Number captured.—Landing at the Marfaragiu.—Preparation of, and packing the Fish.—Oil.—Choice Bits.—Practice of La Busca.—Size, Price, and Quantity of Fish at this Mattanza.—Value of the different Tonnare.—The Island of Asinara.—History.—Barbarism.—Duke of Asinara and Vallombrosa.—Porto Torres.—History.—Ancient Remains.—Church.—San Gavino.—Legends and Superstition.—Fratì Filippini.—Episcopal See.—Port, Shipping, and Trade.—Intemperie.—Costumes.—Sardegna Travelling.—Hotels.—Hospitality.—Anecdotes.—Late Suppers.—English Ablutions, and Sardegna Surprise.—Horses.—“Portante” Pace.—Cavallante of Guide.—Porto d’Armi.—Public Roads.—Table of Distances.

IN some of my journeys to and from Sassari and Alghero, I varied my routes from the direct path between the two towns, which, though called by the Sardes a regular road, in most parts is as bad and narrow as a sheep-path; and, with the exception of a short distance immediately adjoining the towns, is neither good nor wide enough for a wheel-barrow. The intended new road may be possibly finished during the present century; but, judging from the past

delay, and the indifference of the Sassarese as to its completion, it is very questionable.

About two miles to the N.N.E. of Alghero is the Caliche, a large unhealthy lagune of about $138\frac{1}{2}$ acres, from which a considerable quantity of fish is obtained; and which, if drained and cultivated, would be much more profitable than the fishery; but this benefit, like the road to Sassari, is of much less consequence than a good pathway to the shrine of the Madonna at Valverde. In passing through Olmedo, a mass of wretched hovels, one of the villagers impressed on me the immense importance of the horse-races which are held there on the 2nd May, and invited me to visit him on the occasion, shewing me at the same time with great pride the race-course, which was a rut about two and a-half feet wide, full of large stones, and running through a field of green wheat, flax, barley, and tobacco. Continuing from hence toward Sassari, the road is over a plain covered with cystus, arbutus, and dwarf palm; and, after fording the San Georgio rivulet, the bridge over which was carried away some years since by the winter floods, and never repaired, the approach to the town commands a fine view of the mountains which form the distant horizon, and, after descending a slight hill, continues for two or three miles between fine olive groves and vineyards.

The Noraghe in these districts are so dilapidated, that it is impossible to form a just idea of their size; and their present insignificance, in comparison with those in most other parts of the island, may be judged of by the following measurements of some of them.

The Spirada Noraghe is fifteen and a half feet high and twenty-seven and a quarter in diameter; the interior chamber twelve in diameter, conical, and about

twelve high; the entrance about two and a half wide, and three and a half high, and as usual to the S.E.

The Cidaro is about sixteen feet high, twenty-eight in diameter, and the chamber nine in diameter.

The De la Taglia twenty-six feet six inches high, and thirty-eight feet nine inches in diameter, has the chamber about twenty high and twelve in diameter, inside which are two recesses, the largest, to the N.E., being nine feet long, five wide, and about the same in height.

The Coros is twenty-three feet nine inches high, and thirty-six feet six inches in diameter, the chamber thirteen in diameter, with two irregular recesses—one to the N.E., eight feet long, two feet nine inches wide, and four feet high; the other, to the W., six feet long, two feet six inches wide, and three feet six inches high.

My sudden appearance at this Noraghe caused much alarm to some shepherds, who, with their wives and children, were in an adjoining *capanna*, a hovel made of boughs, and who, not seeing my approach, were taken by surprise. The females and children were immediately hurried away, and the two men, putting their long knives into their girdles and assuming a ferocious air, demanded in an impetuous voice what I wanted. On assuring them I did not come to interrupt them, but merely to see the Noraghe, they incredulously sneered at me; but my *cavallante* having come up and explained that I was a stranger from *terra ferma*, and really had no object in visiting them, their fears lest I should have been a government officer, or *fuoruscito*, were dispelled, and they assisted me in taking the measurements of the Noraghe. It was quite incredible to them that any one in his senses should do such a thing;

they laughed immoderately at the idea ; and at length assured me with a self-satisfied chuckle that they knew all about me,—that I had come about the new road between Alghero and Sassari, and that I was measuring the Noraghe for the stones which were to make it. To have undeceived them would have been impossible, and so we parted mutually pleased—they with their belief and discovery, and I with their willingness to assist me and their offer of hospitality.

The Monte Doglia, a limestone hill, 1428½ feet above the level of the sea, and the Nurra range, have nothing to interest the traveller beyond the scenery ; nor, judging from experience, is the wild boar hunting there equal to its fame.

My introduction to Sarde sporting took place here. All preparation being made over night, the party, consisting of about twenty-five persons, met at a given point very early in the morning. At the rendezvous was a motley group of horsemen and dogs ; the former in roughest attire, half smothered on their horses with their *capote*, saddle bags, and provisions, and, besides their guns, a *sciabuletta*, or large knife, in their girdles. The dogs formed such a strange pack that even Buffon might have been puzzled to assign their genus, and certainly have despaired of ever knowing their species ; for every intermediate race, from the hound to the turnspit, seemed to have joined the general congress, and each, according to its owner's account, had some wonderful qualifications, though generally contrary to its supposed character. The pointer was praised for his virtues in running in on the game, the mastiff for his scent, and the tail-less mongrel adored for the union of both qualities. On the first meeting of these canine specimens at the starting place, a civil war commenced ;

and it was not till the hunting had diverted their barking and biting into a common cause and channel, that a truce was established in the pack.

Having reached the spot, the chief huntsman placed each of the shooters in a separate *posta* or position, close to the run which the boars had lately made ; and silence and concealment of the person were absolutely requisite. The beaters, in the meanwhile, had proceeded about a couple of miles up the hills, and in scouring the outskirts of the underwood, gradually drove the boars into their runs. The sport continued till mid-day, when a couple of hours were devoted to dinner and a *siesta* ; a fire was kindled, and on an immense pile of hot ashes a lamb and one of the boars were roasted whole. These, with the adjuncts of cold fowls, cheese, and wine, formed an excellent repast, and one not unacceptable after some eight hours' sharp shooting. Wild boar hunting in Sardinia is seldom carried on after sunset, which time in other countries is frequently considered the best.

The north-west corner of the island was formerly divided into the districts of Fluminaria, Nurra, and Romandia ; the first, so called from a river, the Tamarice, flowing through it ; the second, from the Roman town of Nura, mentioned in the Itinerary of Antonine, and supposed to have been at the foot of Monte Forte ; and the last, from the Roman colony established at the present Porto Torres ; but these divisions have not been very clearly ascertained, and are no longer adopted. Their total area, including the Island of Asinara, is 211 miles square, only sixty of which are cultivated.

In the present day there are only twenty-three villages, though two centuries ago there were seventy-

nine, of which many remains are still met with, but shew no evidence of having been of any size or importance.

Portions of the Nurra are well wooded, though the trees are small in comparison to those in other parts of the island; and the forest of Argentiera, near the promontory of that name, has not yet recovered from the fire, which, in 1839, destroyed upwards of three millions of oaks, a million of wild olive, and numberless other trees.

Several Noraghe are scattered about in various parts, averaging about twenty-two feet high, and twenty-four in diameter, of similar proportions to those in the Alghero district, and none of them in good preservation.

A little to the south-east of Capo Falcone is the small village of Le Saline, situated near a swamp in a wild uncultivated plain, and so called from some salt-pans belonging to the government, which are very imperfectly worked by galley-slaves. Their treatment is worse than inhuman, and if his Sardinian majesty had witnessed their misery, and examined into the causes of their fiendish neglect, he would have obtained a different idea of the feelings of his subjects to that which he formed by the feste and rejoicings he met with in his late excursions.

The Torre delle Saline built by Philip II., a round tower of considerable size, and of good massive architecture, is the land-mark of the place; and being no longer used as a watch-tower against the incursions of the African pirates, is converted into a lumber loft and quarters for the soldiers who guard the galley-slaves. Its dilapidated state, and the appearance of everything animate and inanimate connected with it bore the same

face of wretchedness that characterised the rest of the village and district. Some importance is, however, attached to the place, from it being a Tonnara or tunny-fishery, the productions of which form a primary article of export trade. Most persons are acquainted with the fish, either in the markets or at the dinner-table; but, as few may have witnessed a *mattanza*, some particulars may be given. The word is derived from the Spanish *matare*, to slay, though in Italian and Sarde it is to *check-mate* or conquer; and this latter interpretation, though metaphorically used, is very applicable to the circumstances of their capture and slaughter.

During my stay at Sassari, waiting anxiously for an opportunity of seeing it, and holding myself in readiness to start immediately, as but short notice can be given, from the uncertainty of the arrival and quantity of fish, I was obliged, when the news reached me, to leave the town suddenly in the evening, and to travel all night on horseback to Le Saline, though the mephitic exhalations of the country were so strong as to make one feel ague at every step.*

* Such an expression may be incomprehensible to those who happily have not known that complaint; but any fellow-sufferer will easily comprehend that peculiar, indescribable, indefinable sensation which supervenes, and is a certain indication of the unhealthiness of a district. One of the most salutary precautions is not to approach and enter such spots with an empty stomach; and a mouthful of bread and glass of wine, doubtless saved my servant, my guide, and myself full many a time from an attack of intemperie in places where the natives would hardly believe we had exposed ourselves to such risks with impunity. One of my guides in this excursion was suffering from ague, and had been bled and otherwise reduced, a custom and mode of treatment constantly and successfully followed in cases where English practice

I arrived at four in the morning, just as the boats and barges were putting to sea, and having presented letters of introduction to my host, the director of the establishment, we prepared for the day's enterprise.

The earliest existence of the Tunny Fisheries in the island is uncertain; but about 1554 they were brought under the especial notice of the Aragon government, and Philip II. and Charles II. encouraged the establishment of Tonnare, offering premiums and advantages to the speculators; the former built, also, several towers for their defence. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, there were eighteen in existence, namely at Vignola, Calagostina, Perdas de Fogu, Trabucato, and Le Saline, on the north coast; at Porticcuolo, Calagalera, Pittinuri, Flumentorgiu, Funta-namari, De la Paglia, Porto-Scuso, Isola Piana, Cala Vinagra, and Cala Sapone on the west; and at Porto Pino, St. Macario, and Carbonara on the south; but though the greater part of them ceased to be used, a partial revival took place after the great earthquake at Lisbon in 1755, by which calamity the fisheries in Portugal and Spain ceased to be productive. It was, however, but a temporary stimulus and advantage to Sardinia, for they again gradually declined, and the only three which have survived are at Isola Piana, Porto Scuso, and Le Saline.

The value of a Tonnara is considered to be two-
would avoid it, and adopted with great success at Algiers in 1836, when ague and marsh fever had so reduced the number of effective troops, that there were hardly sufficient for the garrison duty.

This system of the chief of the medical department there, I am personally able to speak well of, for under it, by his care and kindness, I was at that time cured of an aggravated form of ague, to which I had for several years been subject.

thirds less than it was sixty years ago, and various causes have been assigned for it. Scarcity of fish, ill success in the *mattanza*, want of capital, the revival and rivalry of the fisheries on the French, Spanish, and Neapolitan coasts, have all been adduced as excuses by the Sardes; but it may be mostly attributed to their own want of energy and industry; and as the Tonnare at Porto Scuso and Le Saline are rented by foreigners, and four-fifths of the hands employed at them are Genoese, there is but little labour or profit for the natives.

The tunny fish enter the Mediterranean about the end of April, follow the lines of coast into the Black Sea, and then returning back to the Atlantic, disappear about the middle of August; such at least is the general belief, but the cause of their short and rapid visit has never been ascertained.

According to Aristotle,* Pliny,† and Ælian,‡ they proceed to the Black Sea for the purpose of spawning, it being the only place where they do, "*nec alibi fetificant*;" but this supposition is not tenable, as the eggs are found equally in the Mediterranean; and that they are driven in to escape the attack of the sword-fish is no less erroneous, for that fish is found to mix with them without any hostility.

The pursuit of the innumerable shoals of small fish in the Mediterranean, is another opinion; and Polybius§ speaks of their fondness for the acorns found on the well wooded shores, from which circumstance Athenæus|| calls the tunny the "sea-pig."

These last reasons are equally objectionable, as the shoals of small fish and the acorns do not abound till a

* Aristotle, lib. v. chap. 10. † Pliny, lib. ix. chap. 18.

‡ Ælian, lib. xv. chap. 3. § Polyb. lib. xxx. iv. chap. 8.

|| Athenæus Deipn., lib. vii. chap. 67.

later period in the year, when the tunny have returned to the Atlantic; and indeed no cause has been satisfactorily assigned beyond the natural instinct.

The fact of the tunny keeping close to the shores in its grand tour is well attested; but the idea entertained by the ancients, that the visual power of the right eye was greater than that of the left, and consequently, when entering the Black Sea, they kept on the south shore, and on the north when returning, would not be worth mentioning, were it not still prevalent among many of the fishermen.

Æschylus, * Aristotle, † Athenæus, ‡ Ælian, § Plutarch, || Pliny, ¶ and other classical authorities, speak of this ocular peculiarity in a literal as well as proverbial sense; and, in the present day, the “ojo de atun,” and the “occhio di tonno,” are Spanish and Italian proverbs for a side-look, an obliquity or caste of the eye; and perhaps our own expression of a “sinister look,” may have been derived from it.

The antiquity, estimation, and value of the tunny fishery are equally well authenticated; and it may not be generally recollected, that the Golden Horn at Constantinople, the Chrysoceras of the Greeks, and Aurei Cornus of the Romans, ** inherits its name from the riches of the tunny fishery which existed at that point. Athenæus †† calls it the “mother of tunnies.”

It appears on the coins of Gades, Abdera, and Cenaka, as sacred to the gods. ‡‡ The Carthaginians used it as a favourite dish at their marriage feasts; and, on account of its fecundity, it was sacrificed to Neptune,

* Fragm., xxv. † Lib. viii. chap. 13. ‡ Deipn., vii. 15.

§ Lib. ix. chap. 42. || Solert. Anim. ¶ Lib. ix. chap. 18.

** Pliny, lib. iv. chap. 2. ix. 20. †† Deipn., iii. 84.

‡‡ Münter, Religion der Karthager, p. 103.

to whom, according to Ælian, * prayers were offered up as soon as the fish were enclosed in the nets, for protection against misfortunes in the slaying of them.

The ancient mode of catching the fish also, as described by him, corresponds much with that of the present day.

The Madraga or nets, an immense mass of cordage, is made of the plant sparto, a species of rush abounding on the coast of Valencia and Murcia, from whence it is brought and made into the nets of the necessary size, the cords being about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, and the meshes about six inches square. There are four kinds of it, the Cinquini, Palomille, Quaterni, and Ternetti, to which may be added another species made of the dwarf palm.

The Madraga is prepared in March and laid down in April, during which period, the greatest activity prevails in all the departments of the Tonnara; the arrival of the Genoese, the repairs, arrangement, and placing of the nets, giving an animation to the village which during eight months of the year is in a comparative torpor, especially as the adventitious population thus employed returns home as soon as the fishing is finished.

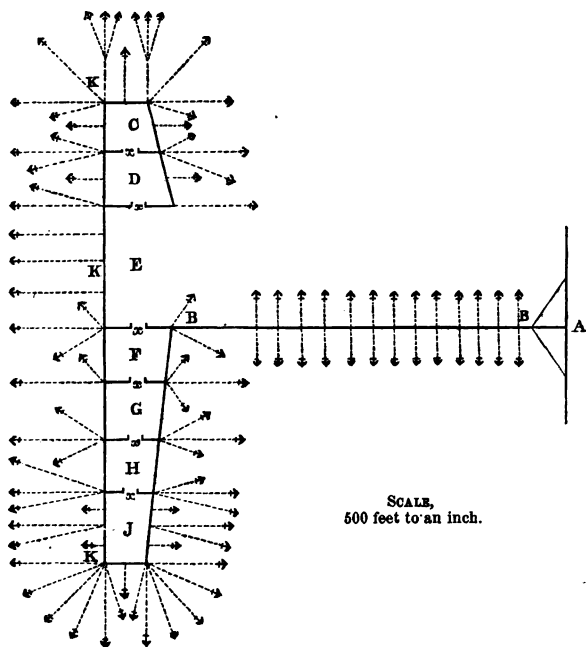
The operation of laying down the Madraga, called the "Incrociatura" is always terminated by the 3rd of May, the festival of the Invention of the Holy Cross, from whence the expression is derived; and on that day the priest confers his blessing on the nets with great pomp and ceremony, accompanied by the prayers of the fishermen.

The accompanying plan of a Madraga is reduced to a scale of English feet from the original measurement in canne, one of which is 5.74217 feet.

* Lib. xiii. chap. 17.

The dotted lines represent the cables with the anchors attached to them, by which the Madraga is kept down in its position. It is floated on the surface by large pieces of the male cork, obtained from the province of Gallura. The total number of anchors is 132, of which 74 are in the chambers; but the limits of the paper do not admit of the insertion of the whole of the Coda.

From the shore A, to the point of the chamber F,



PLAN OF THE MADRAGA.

is the Coda or tail B, 10,336 feet long; but represented on a smaller scale than the rest of the plan.

C, D, E, F, G, H, J, are chambers which unitedly are called the Isola.

K, is the exterior line of them, and 1,314 feet long from the eastern to the western extremity.

C, the most easterly chamber, and therefore called La Camera di Levante is $143\frac{1}{2}$ feet in its greatest width, by 155 feet long.

D, the Camera Bordonarella, is $160\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide, by $143\frac{1}{2}$ long.

E, is the Camera Grande, $344\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $160\frac{3}{4}$ wide, and entirely open to the west.

F, the Camera Bordonale, is 155 feet long and $160\frac{3}{4}$ in the widest parts.

G, the Camera Bastardo, is of the same length, and $149\frac{1}{4}$ wide.

H, La Camera dell'Oro, of similar length and $143\frac{1}{2}$ wide, is so called from its riches, for the fish once inside it are considered as so much "Oro nella tasca."

J, is the Camera della Morte, the scene of mattanza, 206 feet long, and 115 feet wide.

x, the foratico, or entrance to each chamber.

The depth of the water in the chambers is $126\frac{1}{2}$ feet, but the nets are $183\frac{3}{4}$ feet, so as to admit of their play and sway according to the winds and currents.

The price of a Madraga varies from 1,800*l.* to 2,400*l.* sterling.

The fish, in coasting along the shore, find the opposing Coda, and following it to the chamber E, diverge and enter those on the right and left hand, from which they never attempt to escape, though the passage is left open.

The whole of the Tonnara establishment is under a director, appointed by a Genoese company, which rents it of the Duke of Pasqua for 1000*l.* per annum; and

about 200 men are employed in it whose pay varies from $10\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $11\frac{1}{2}d.$ per diem.

The Rais or commander, a word of Oriental extraction, has virtually the management of the fishery, though nominally under the orders of the director, and his salary is 40*l.* for the season with an additional percentage, according to his success. Experience, discretion, a power of watching and discovering the arrival of the fish, of calculating their number, of seizing the right moment to commence the mattanza, of not allowing them to escape to another tonnara, and integrity in working for the sole advantage of his employers are the essential points required ; and an unlimited authority is ceded to him in the execution of these duties. He is looked up to with respect and tacit obedience by his little army which awaits and conforms to his orders without questioning his motives.

“ Thus prompt his accents, and his actions still,
And all obey, and few inquire his will ;
To such, brief answer and contemptuous eye
Convey reproof, nor further deign reply.”

On the present occasion he had been daily at the Madraga without hoisting his white flag, the signal that all is right for the mattanza ; but it at length appeared, the whole village was on the alert, and on his arrival ashore he gave orders for the morrow's campaign. The morning was fine, but windy, and the director having embarked his troops, I had the pleasure of accompanying him in his private boat.

On our arrival at the Madraga we found the Rais had made the requisite disposition of his armada consisting of 12 barges, about 140 men, and their matériel.

The north and south sides of the Camera di Morte

were enclosed by three small barges attached to the floating line of the Madraga, and on the east and west were fastened the two large ones called the Capo Rais and Paliscarmo. This operation is called the "castellare" or fortifying the chamber; and the rest of the barges are kept ready for any emergency. After a consultation between the director and Rais on the order of battle, we proceeded to the Camera dell'Oro to inspect the fish; and by leaning over the shaded side of the boat, close to the water so as to exclude the rays of light from above, and which is also frequently done by stretching out a sail, we saw them roving beneath us without the slightest apparent fear or discomfort at their confinement. The water was very clear; but being occasionally ruffled by the breeze, it was necessary to throw oil on it to smoothen the surface.

Their appearance in their own element is very different to that in an uninterrupted light, for the rays passing through the medium of the water gave them a dark silvery tint with the occasional hues of the mackerel, and golden touches to their fins which were not visible when captured.

The Rais continued to inspect them for a considerable time; and it is said that he can tell them all as a shepherd his sheep, that he knows their number, size, and other particulars, which to an inexperienced eye seems almost incredible; but certainly the statement he made on the present occasion was subsequently verified. Plutarch states that their number may be ascertained from the shoal always forming itself into a cube, but the Rais would, doubtless, prefer his own practical experience to the supposition of the ancients.

Having reached the Capo Rais barge at the east end

of the Camera di Morte, and everything being ready, the foratico, a kind of net-portcullis, covering the passage *x* between the two chambers, was drawn up; all eyes were intently bent over the water to watch the entrance of the fish, and the excitement rose in proportion to the delay and uncertainty of their passage to the fatal chamber. The speculations of the fishermen as to the size and number, the anticipation of the attack, the certainty of victory though earned with difficulty, and the risks and profits, were united causes of intense animation to all except the Rais, who still leaned silently over the side of his little boat, seeming to shun intercourse with any one save his finny prisoners beneath him.

An hour passed in this state of suspense, and finding that they would not pass through the entrance, he ordered a white sail to be lowered at the east end of the Camera dell'Oro for the purpose of frightening them, but having the effect of alarming them too much, it was immediately drawn up.

Among the other methods of forcing them into the Camera di Morte, an expert diver, dressed in white, descends and swims through the passage, and the tunny, instead of attacking or avoiding him, follow in the belief that he is one of their race. A large net, called L'Ingiarro, is at other times lowered at the eastern end of the chamber and drawn on to the opposite side; or a few handfuls of sand are thrown down, repeating it as they dart away, for they are as afraid of it, to use Cetti's expression—"come se li rovinasse addosso il cielo,"—as if the heavens were falling on their backs and crushing them.

It is most advisable, however, to let them pass voluntarily from the "vestibule of death," as the

Camera dell'Oro is called, the suicidal act not being attended with the risk of their breaking the net, or rushing too quickly to their doom.

Fears now began to be expressed lest the wind, which had increased, would make it too rough for the mattanza, but while discussing it a loud voice broke upon us of "Guarda sotto!"—"Look beneath!" The ever watchful Rais, whose eyes had never been off his victims, in a moment had perceived by their movements that they were making for the foratico, and obeying his warning voice we all were immediately on our knees, bending over the sides of the barges to watch the irruption, and from the dead silence and our position it appeared as if we were all at prayers. In less than two minutes the shoal of nearly 500 had passed through; the well-known voice shouted out "Ammorsella," "Let down the portcullis;"—down it went amid the general and hearty cheers of all present, and the fatal foratico into which "Lasciate ogni speranza voi che entrate," was for ever closed on them.

The first act of the drama being finished, the mattanza was to begin. The Rais in his little boat, in the centre of the Camera di Morte, having checked the hilarity and vociferous joy on all sides, and a general silence prevailing, assumed a pontifical as well as piscatorial character, and taking off his cap—an example followed by all the party—commenced a half chaunt, half recitative prayer, a species of litany and invocation of the saints, to which an "ora pro nobis" chorus was made by the congregation. After the Virgin Mary had been appealed to, and her protection against accidents particularly requested, as the ancients did to Neptune, a series of saints was called over, half of whose names I knew not, but who were evidently influential persons in

the fishing department. St. George was supplicated to drive away all enemies of the tunny, from the imaginary "lammia" or sorceress, to the real shark and sword-fish; St. Peter was reminded of the holy miracle performed for him by an application to him to confer a similarly miraculous draught on the present occasion; and (perhaps to counterbalance the difficulty in case of his refusal) a petition was offered up to St. Antonio di Padua, imploring him to perform some more of his fishy wonders. St. Michael was complimented on his heavenly influence in these matters, and humbly requested to continue his favors on them; but not knowing why he was mixed up with the affair, I asked one of the men for an explanation, and his answer was as learned as it was lucid. "St. Michael" he said, "was with St. Peter, when the latter asked Jesus Christ to go fishing, and therefore he was one of the crew of that boat"—"uno del equipaggio di quella barca." Besides the saints of such undoubted authority and interest in tunny fishery, the shrines of general as well as local celebrity were called over, and a blessing demanded for the principal towns and places in the Mediterranean which purchased the fish.

During these pious appeals, so curious and amusing to a Protestant stranger, the preparations for the mattanza were not forgotten, the men having undressed themselves, and put on old clothes used expressly on the occasion; for by the time the carnage is over they are covered with blood, the stain of which it is almost impossible to remove. The change of every jacket, waistcoat, shirt, and trowsers, seemed to produce a corresponding one in the Litany, and one might have imagined that the saints presided no less over the old clothes than over the tunnies. Whether the catalogue

of holy persons and places connected with the fishery was duly finished, or whether the Rais saw his army was re-dressed and ready for the onset, was impossible to say, but a signal was given for the men to take their positions at regular distances at the side of the barges. It was promptly obeyed, and as soon as the Rais, with an eye of surveillance on each individual, had given the word "Sarpa," "Haul up," every one worked away merrily, pulling up the inner net or false bottom to the chamber. This hauling up, a long operation as the net is compactly made and very heavy, continued for nearly an hour, and piles of it began to fill the side barges, when suddenly a signal appeared, "avast heaving." The wind had increased so much, that it would have been impossible to have towed the barges laden with the spoil back to shore, had the mattanza taken place; and the Rais and Director having therefore decided on giving up the work for the day, with a gloom and disappointment depicted on every countenance, the nets were lowered into the chamber and a temporary reprieve given to the victims. It was with difficulty that even the empty barges got back, and a heavy gale in the evening proved the right decision of the Rais.

The weather being equally unpropitious the next morning, a fresh invocation of the saints was made in church at vespers, and the greater part of the people were assembled to implore a change of wind and successful mattanza on the morrow. The altar was well lighted up, the prayers were evidently the devout outpourings of the heart, and the intensity of feeling evinced by the supplicants effectually checked any feeling of ridicule or contempt, however one might differ in opinion as to the efficacy of fine weather and mat-

tanza mediators. According to Cetti, it is customary on the vigils of the day to draw by lot the name of a saint, and, thus elected, to constitute and invoke him as the protector and patron of that mattanza, and he is paid for the trouble and honor by a present of one of the largest fish, which the priest obligingly takes care of in his own larder ; but I did not see this ceremony.

In the course of the night the wind abated, and by daybreak the Rais had mustered and embarked his forces, the barges were again moored to the Madraga, and by the time the director and myself had arrived, the false bottom-net was half drawn up. The silence and reserve of the Rais are now converted into shouting and familiarity ; paddling about in his little boat, he incites his men to work, and his "Sarpa ! Sarpa !" is merrily responded to by their "Issa ! Issa !" In playfulness he throws a scoop of water over one, splashes or hits with his oar another, and threatens eternal penalties on a third who may be loitering or shuffling in his work. Though the "long pull, strong pull, and pull altogether" are not necessary, it is of importance that the net should be equally drawn up on both sides ; but on the east and west it is not drawn at all, as the two immense barges, the Paliscalmo and Capo Rais, are left empty to receive the fish, and are gradually drawn toward each other, leaving only a sufficient intermediate space for the slaughter. The first evidence of the fishes being incommoded by the hauling up of the net was a multitude of circles formed on the surface of the water by their gyrations, at which a general shout of joy broke forth ; and the fish, finding themselves every minute more and more restricted, gradually approach the surface, and the chamber becoming narrower and narrower,

in their fear and confusion they quicken their movements, and lash each other as they roll and plunge in all directions.

The men now haul with redoubled efforts and with the greatest expedition, lest at this moment, by any sudden and simultaneous rush they might dash through the nets. The space is so contracted that there is just room for them to float without an impetus in their movements; the whole surface is one vast overflowing cauldron; on every side the spray is foaming and flying; every one in the barges is drenched by the shower, and "Iris sits amid the infernal surge," though *not* to the tunnies "like hope upon a death-bed." The Rais is still to be seen in his boat cheering and animating his men, apparently regardless of the death which would ensue were he upset and struck by one of the monsters. But the climax is at length obtained: though he cannot be heard in the uproar, his signal is recognised; and while he withdraws to one of the barges, the hauling ceases, the nets are fastened to the sides, and all being made secure, a pause ensues. A part of the men now arm themselves for the close conflict, with thick sticks called "crocchi" from the iron hoops at their extremity, and, thus accoutred, take up their position in the Capo Rais and Paliscalmo barges; the rest of the corps then recommence hauling, and as the fishes appear on the surface, the slaughterers strike the hooks into them and draw them towards the barges.

It is impossible to give an adequate idea of the confusion and uproar which now ensue. The fury, agoay, and convulsion of the fish when struck—the cheers and exertions of the men as they haul them to the side of the barges—their efforts to draw them up—their disappointment in failure, expressed too in no very pious

terms—the shouts of victory over a fish of great size, or who has fought “à toute outrance” in his endeavor to escape from the hooks, and hauling of ten or twelve men, and the reiterated slashing blows which shake the barge beneath our feet, make the excitement most intense. Such havoc and slaughter is it, that Æschylus,



TUNNY SLAUGHTER.

Persæ, 395, used the mattanza as a simile in his account of the destruction of the Persian naval force at Salamis ; and Pliny, speaking of the formidable force of a shoal of tunny, mentions (lib. ix. chap. 2) the circumstance of Alexander the Great having been obliged to put his fleet in battle array to oppose and withstand their attack. It may also be observed, that the word tunny is derived, according to Athenæus,* from θύνειν, “to rush violently onwards.”

Care is requisite on the part of the men lest in reaching and striking they should fall overboard, for the weight of a fish would swamp and the blow of his tail stun or kill him unless immediately rescued.

* Lib. vii. chap. 64.

But an hour ago, scarcely a voice was heard, and the tunny revelled happily in his deep cavern ; but the unruffled surface of the blue waters had gradually become as white as snow with the froth and spray, and was now incarnadined with blood. The bleeding of the fish, their torments in having the hook struck into them, and the unmerciful tearing of their flesh, are the only unpleasant part of the spectacle ; and a partiality for sticking the hook into the eyes is defended on the plea of a supposed necessity of blinding them ; an excuse hardly sufficient to warrant such cruelty.

The barges were divided off into " Stellati " or partitions, a certain number of men being appointed to each ; and, as a stimulus to their exertions, a premium is given to the party getting the greatest quantity as well as quality of fish.

The quantity taken was 336, leaving the rest—about 160, for another mattanza. Independently of keeping them as a decoy, the barges could not carry any more ; nor could a greater number have been dressed ashore as it is necessary to do it while they are perfectly fresh and in a proper state. La Marmora states that he has seen 1000 allowed to escape from the other chambers for want of hands to kill and dress them.

In the course of the noon, the spoil was towed ashore, and the national flag hoisted to it, the usual compliment on the first mattanza ; but formerly the arrival was attended with as much honor and celebration as the Spaniards paid to their galleons when returning from Potosi, or the Dutch to their ships laden with the spices of Batavia, a salute of cannon then welcoming the treasure, and a present of one of the finest tunny being the reciprocated compliment. In the present day, both gunpowder and fish are economised.

The establishment where the tunnies are landed and dressed, called the Marfaragiu or Baraque, is an extensive building close to the shore, made of brick columns and thick poles which support a roof formed of the cystus plant interwoven and fastened with sparto.

The perfume and cleanliness in the morning were a curious contrast with its condition in the evening when the combination of smells and gory filth was not quite so agreeable. There are various departments for the different operations in dressing the fish, and a rudely constructed force-pump sends the sea-water into all of them.

We may now follow the tunny from the moment of its being placed on the shore, where the men are marshalled out into parties acting independently of each other, and every individual has a peculiar office assigned to him. The fish is cut open close to the water's edge with the "mannaje," a species of hatchet; and the entrails being taken out, the interior washed, and a hook and cord attached, it is hauled up on the dry stones; the whole of the operation occupying about half a minute.

It is there received by the next party who strike off the head and fins with similar dexterity and quickness, and they are immediately carried off in a basket by another set of men, not only for the sake of clearance and cleanliness, but as perquisite of the people employed in the fisheries.

The fish being thus far opened and dissected, a gang of porters called "Bastagis" steps forward to carry it into the Marfaragiu, among whom for their strength and activity, there is a strong rivalry to shew their powers, and proportionate ridicule on him who breaks down under the weight. The distance is not above 40

yards, but as several of the fish were 11 feet long, and weighed 10 cantars or about $8\frac{1}{2}$ cwts. ; it was an enormous burden for one man.

In the part of the building into which the fish is carried, called the "Tancato" is a mass of "Dogali" or cords of a peculiar make, suspended from the roof; and a man here awaits the arrival of the fish and slipping a couple of ready-made half hitches over the tail the instant it is under the cord, the porter simultaneously lets it slide off his back. The fish thus hung up, remains for some hours to allow the blood to drain out; and some idea of the method and quickness with which the 336 fishes were cut, cleaned, carried, and suspended, may be formed by the fact that it was all done in less than 3 hours.

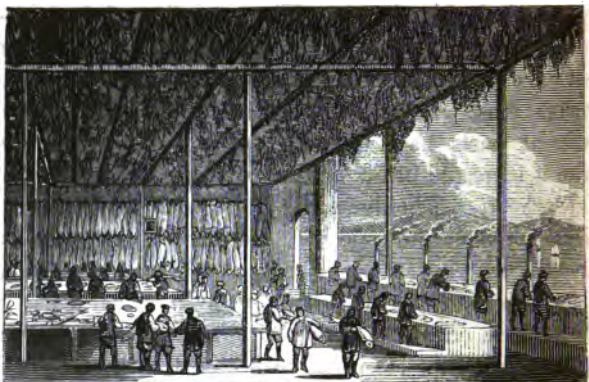
At eleven at night, fresh operations commenced, and the whole Marfaragiu, well lighted up with lamps and candles, had the appearance before the work, of public gardens of amusement rather than an abattoir. The effect of the light on the fish was equally curious, the purplish leaden hue contrasting forcibly with the deep gory red, while their number, position, and the silence of the scene, gave one the idea of some infernal sacrifice.

The immense cauldrons filled with salt-water being now hot, the men took their posts for their peculiar work, and the fish being brought one by one from the Tancato, were placed on a long large dresser, called the "Cianca," where the men in parties of three, were waiting to dissect it. With their arms thoroughly bared, their black barette hanging over their bronzed complexions, and aprons and breastplates of rough goat-skins, their savage appearance was quite in character with their bloody occupation.

I timed these wholesale anatomists in the dissection

of an ordinary sized fish weighing about 5 cwt., and the back-bone was taken out, the delicate parts separated, and the whole then cut up into pieces of 1 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds in $3\frac{1}{2}$ minutes. The extraction of the back-bone occupied the greater portion of the time, but the rest was chopped up as if it had been spinach or parsley, though most carefully and methodically done, as the different parts have their respective value, and their price is increased or diminished by the manner in which they are cut. The dissecting table, a slightly inclined plane, is not encumbered with the pieces, for as soon as chopped up, they are pushed off and fall into vats of salt water, where they soak till on a given signal a party carries them off to the cauldron, and after half an hour's boiling, another force of 20 men armed with Brobdignagian ladles, scoop them out and carry them to long tables made of reed and sparto, where they are left to cool. In the occasional leisure minutes, the men assembled together, were singing national airs, one of which represented the music and song of the poor Savoyard, or Genoese boys with their hurdygurdy. The leader of the band forming a circle around him, gave each of them a note, pitching it with his own voice, and when they had all commenced it, a sound was produced in the combination exactly similar to the jingle of that instrument. Then mimicking the winding of it he accompanied it with some words, and the effect was both good and amusing. But the fish is now cool, and we must return to it. In another part of the building were men surrounded by barrels, about the size of a firkin, made at Trapani, in Sicily, and Fanali, in Liguria, and into which they were packing and pressing it in beautiful order, reminding one of a similar process with the figs at Smyrna.

A corps of carpenters receives and fastens them down, and in a few hours they are under weigh in the vessels



THE MARFARAGIU.

bound to Genoa and other ports, while outside the Marfaragiu are the viandanti or carriers, waiting with their horses to convey their portion to the interior of the island. The fish which is salted, is not boiled, but as soon as cut up is carried to tables where salt is rubbed in, and the pieces are then packed in the casks with additional salt. The ancients consider this to be the best method of preparation (*vide* Athenæus, *Deipnos.*, lib. iii., ch. 84 to 86); and so highly was it esteemed by the Carthaginians that they prohibited its exportation.—(*Vide* Aristotle, *de Mirab. Auscult.*, ch. 148.)

During the boiling process a quantity of oil and grease is extracted, and rising to the surface is ladled off into vats, from whence it is taken and mixed with the rest, which is obtained by a screw-press from the bones. The oil fetches a high price, being very valuable for machinery, and the bones would serve for manure; but

the trouble would alarm the Sardes, no less than the idea of such an innovation in their agriculture, and consequently they are thrown away to decay on the shore.

There is hardly a part in the tunny not available for some purpose, but a curious value is set on particular pieces. The most esteemed in the upper part is a streak under the chin, called the "stringhe;" in the body the highest price is obtained for the "sorra" or flank, and it seems to have maintained its celebrity, for various ancient authors* speak of it as a "dainty to be eaten by the gods." In the lower part the "netta" is considered a delicacy; but in purchasing any of these pieces in the market some experience is requisite to select them. My inexperienced palate was incompetent to appreciate the delicacies which appeared at my host's table, even with every advantage of cooking. They formed a complete course of fish, but were so disguised by sauces and the various modes of dressing that it was impossible to say whether they were fish, flesh, or fowl. Pliny, lib. ix., chap. 18, in mentioning these highly-prized morsels, alludes also to the unpleasant consequences of indigestion arising from eating them. "*Himentratim cæsi, cervice et abdomine commendantur, atque clidio recenti duntaxat, et tum quoque gravi ructu.*"

The spawn salted and pressed into flat cakes, about an inch thick, called Bottarghe, and served up at table in slices, with oil, is delicious; nor did I ever taste any caviar in Russia superior to it. M. Valery erroneously states the bottarghe to be "*œufs mis en bouteille,*"† evidently imagining bottarghe to have some reference to bottiglie—bottles.

* Athenæus, Deipn. lib. vii. ch. 63, &c., &c. † Page 141.

A general belief prevails among the fishermen that the tunny, from its doltish stupid character, has no brains, and several heads were opened very carefully for me at my request, but in my ignorance of comparative anatomy I certainly was not able to find any. There is no doubt of the existence of a small quantity, but as in some fishes it does not constitute a 2000th part of their bulk, and varies so much in different species, the erroneous idea of its non-existence in the tunny may have easily arisen.

The peculiarity of the shape of the head will strike any observer, and a craniologist might easily work himself into a belief that gourmandism and amativeness were the only organs developed on their skulls. It would, at least, correspond with their actions, for the sight of a female tunny, in the breeding season, or of a shoal of Sardines, makes them rush at and break through the nets to obtain the objects of their affections, when nothing else could induce them to leave their prison. On this point, vide Athenæus, Deipnos., lib. vii. chap. 67; and on their being troubled with an æstrus, vide lib. vii. chap. 67.

It is very amusing in wandering about the Marfaragiu, to see the general excitement, activity, order, and regularity, combined with the greatest rapidity in the performance of the different duties.

The perquisites formerly claimed by the men were very considerable, and the losses sustained by the proprietors of the fishery were in similar proportion; but a composition is now made for them, and with the exceptions of the parts previously mentioned nothing can be claimed, though the old system of "busca" is still maintained. This expression cannot be interpreted in its proper meaning of "a begging," but implies in this

case the concealment and abstraction of pieces which they add to their legitimate perquisites, and thereby obtain a large store for their own use. The theft is not considered dishonorable, for, as under the Spartan law, the discovery is the only disreputable part of the fact, nor does even the priest hold a different opinion, but confirms the men in these peculiar ideas of *meum* and *tuum* by the sanction of "*volet usus*;" and so customary was it, and to a certain extent still is, that it has become proverbial; any occupation in which the parties employed can steal being called "*una tonnara*."

This *mattanza* was considered to have been merely of an average goodness, but there was every prospect of the year's fishery being favorable. The total amount varies not so much from the quantity caught at each *mattanza*, as from the number of the *mattanza*. In 1840, 4150 were killed in twelve *mattanze*; in 1841, 4133 in the same number, and in 1842, 3270 in ten *mattanze*.

The largest fish I saw was 11 feet 6 inches, but on the average they were about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There is no possibility of telling the age by the size, but the Sardes call those under 100 weight, *Scampirri*; those from 100 to 300, *Mezzotonni*; and all above it, *Tonno*. The largest known to have been taken have weighed upwards of 1800 lbs., but such instances are very rare; and on the average it is calculated that each fish, previous to being salted or cured in oil, is worth about 1*l.* 12*s.*, and that 100 will fill 150 barrels.

Pliny, lib. ix. chap. 17, states, that he has known them to have weighed 15 talents, which would be about 1,645 lbs. English; and five cubits and a palm in width.

The price varies according to the time and quality, for, at the commencement of the season, it is about

3*l.* 4*s.* the barrel, but soon falls to 2*l.*, and this difference is attributed to the great demand for it during Lent; little, comparatively, being eaten after that period; but the general consumption is much diminished since the hardy consciences and stomachs of many Roman Catholics have heretically taken to eating meat during that period, and also on fast days. Leghorn, Genoa, and Rome, are the principal consumers, and an extract from the official return for the year 1841, will give an idea of the general enterprise.

At Isola Piana, 2965 fish were captured; at Porto Scuso, 3700; at Porto Paglia, 2500; and at Flumentorgiu, 3200,—making a total of 12,365. Their weight was 1048 tons, and value 40,000*l.* sterling. 882 tons were prepared with salt or oil, and the rest were dried or immediately consumed.

The tonnara at Isola Piana belongs to the Marquis di Villamarina, whose son obligingly gave me the particulars of the mattanza he had just been attending. 2555 fish had been killed, giving 3200 barrels, the value of which he estimated at 170,000 lire nove, or 6800*l.* So large a sum may appear inconsistent when compared with the produce of 1843; but it is accounted for by the suppression of the tonnare of Porto Paglia and Flumentorgiu, and the circumstance of the mattanza having been peculiarly successful. It is the most valuable, profitable, and best conducted of the tunny fisheries, and was formerly rented at 11,700*l.* per annum.

Porto Scuso, the property of the Marquis de Pasqua, is worked with care and profit; but those of Porto Paglia and Flumentorgiu are no longer used.

Many of those now suppressed would fully repay the speculation of reworking them, if done with proper industry and attention, and sufficient capital to meet

the first expenses. The tunny is still called and might be what it no longer is, "La manna del Mediterraneo."

Each tonnara may have its peculiar customs and methods of killing and preparing the fish ; but the above-mentioned are such as I witnessed at Le Saline. M. Valery states several circumstances which the director assured me were incorrect ; but the differences are not sufficient to affect the general interest and amusement of a mattanza. The whole spectacle is a pendant picture to a bull-fight, and in many respects the comparison is borne out. The urging the tunny into the Camera di Morte reminded me of the scenes at Madrid and Seville, of driving the bulls into their compartments from whence they are to appear on the arena ; but the onset and bloodshed in the mattanza are certainly far less animating than in the Corrida di Toros, for the risk of human life and furious fight of the bull have a higher degree of excitement. The traveller in Sardinia ought not to neglect but even wait for an opportunity of witnessing a "kill and cure" of these royal fishes ; and may he enjoy the same good fortune which befell me of experiencing the hospitality and kindness of the director, to whom I am indebted for every attention.

After spending the night at the Marfaragiu, and enjoying a farewell supper with my host, I started in his boat for Porto Torres ; my bed on board being made of two tunnies, and a third for a pillow. They were first fruit offerings and presents to the ecclesiastical and civic authorities of Sassari, gifts of a wider intention than merely satisfying their appetites.

On the intermediate day, when the mattanza was postponed on account of the weather, I made an excursion to the island of Asinara, the Insula Herculis of Ptolemy and Pliny, and said to have been so called from

the Theban Hercules, and subsequently *Ænaria*, from *Æneas*, whence, by the interposition of an *s* in the diphthong, it became *Asinaria*; but others derive the name from the wild asses formerly found there, and Luigi Marmol, in his travels in Africa, stated that he found a similar breed of animals in the Libyan desert.

In the archives at Alghero it is spelt "*La Synaire*;" but all these points are hardly worth consideration, as the place itself is unimportant and uninteresting.

A naval engagement took place on its shores in 1408 between the Genoese and Sicilian fleets, in which the latter were the conquerors, and many noble prisoners fell into the hands of Don Martino, the son of Don Martino, King of Aragon. It was subjected to the attacks of the African pirates in the 16th century, at which period the Sassarese had a coral fishery there; and in 1638, some French corsairs having obtained possession of, and established themselves in the village and the round towers, continually attacked the ships passing through the straits or trading with Porto Torres, but were eventually captured by a Sarde force.

The island is about thirty miles in circumference, and of granitic formation; the Monte Scomunica, the highest hill, being, according to Captain Smyth, nearly 1500 feet, but according to La Marmora only about 1350 feet high. Not above a ninth part is cultivated, and though well wooded in some districts, the principal valley of Vallombrosa is hardly worthy of the name. Game is very abundant, especially partridges and quails, which sell from one penny to twopence a piece, and from their cheapness and excellence are sent to Genoa; but the race of hawks, for which the island was so celebrated, that Don Pedro el Ceremonioso, King of Aragon, obtained them for his own use, is almost extinct. Traces

of former habitations are to be met with in various parts ; but the period of their decay is unknown ; and the only village now existing, called La Reale, consists of thirty-seven little cottages, inhabited by about 240 people ; and a few " cuilis " or shepherds' huts, scattered about the island, make the total population about 300.

But notwithstanding their communication with Porto Torres in their fishery, their intercourse with the vessels in the roadstead during the raging of the intemperie at that town, and with the Corsicans in the contraband trade of cattle, they are as primitive as if they were the identical colony of Hercules or Æneas, or, " parlando con rispetto," the wild asses of Luigi Marmot. A priest only resides there during a short portion of the year, and as he is not qualified to administer the sacrament, they are obliged to go to Porto Torres for that and other church ceremonies. La Marmora mentioned to me, that when he was there, no service was performed during the Easter week ; and, as illustrative of their literary state, having occasion for pen and ink, such articles were not to be found in the island ; many of the people not knowing their use, and that he was consequently obliged to use one of the feathers of the fowl which was being dressed for his dinner, with a little sepia he chanced to have about him.

Having lately heard of some foreigners purchasing and cultivating land near Porto Torres, they imagined that no stranger could visit their shores except for a similar purpose, and before leaving the village I found I had bought the whole of the island, and had nearly cultivated half of it ! The property belongs to the Duke of Vallombrosa, whose ancestors bought it in 1775 from the King, Vittorio Amadeo III., together with very extensive privileges. Though his dominion extended for

five miles along the shore, the total feudal dues amounted to only 863 lire Sarde, or 66*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*; and the expenses of the agent to superintend their collection so ate up the receipt, that it is said the duke did not receive more than 30 lire Sarde, or about 2*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.* annually.

The family is of high antiquity, and on the purchase of the island, Don Antonio Manca, then Marchese di Mores, was created Duca di Asinara; but subjected to much badinage and bantering on his new title, and offended at some of the jeux d'esprits, he applied to the king to change it, and the valley of Vallombrosa was selected as more euphonious; but the joke was not allowed to rest here, for it was then wittily said of him, "*Ebbene l'asino dunque ha preso ombra.*"

Porto Torres, situated in the centre of a bay, of which Castel Sardo and Cape Falcone form the eastern and western extremities, derives its name from the ancient Turris Libysonis (Vide Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. ii. ch. 7, and Ptolemy, lib. iii.); shewing evidently thereby a reference to, if not a derivation from the Theban Hercules (Vide Annio ad Berosum, lib. vii. antiquit., and Tarafa de Reg. Hisp., cap. Hercules).

It was subsequently occupied by the Romans (Pliny, lib. iii. ch. 7), and though the date of the colonisation is uncertain, the maximum population at its most flourishing period was about 15,000. The roads then in existence may still be partially traced from the town to the Nurra range, and to the south-east passing by the extinct village of Ottana, the "*Ottavum lapidem*" of the Romans; in which direction it formed a junction with another road, leading to the centre of the island, at a station called "*ad Herculem*," the site of which is recognised in the present day in San Pietro d' Erruli,

or Dessu Sassu Erula, an evident corruption of its former name; and the shrine of St. Peter has supplanted the Fanum Herculis.

Among the ancient remains of the town is the Temple of Fortune, and by the following inscription, discovered a few years since, its dilapidation and restoration under the reign of Philip, about the year 247 A.D., are ascertained.

TEMPLVM • FORTVNÆ.
 ET • BASILICAM • CVM.
 TRIBVNALI • ET • COLVM.
 NIS • SEX • VETVSTATE.
 COLLAPSA • RESTITVIT.
 M • VLPIVS • VICTOR,
 V • E • PROC • AVG • N. •
 PRAEF • PROV • SARD.
 OVRANTE • L • MAGNIO.
 FVLVIANO • TRIB • MIL.
 CVRATORE • REIPVBL • P • P.

Parts of the external walls are standing, but so much of the interior has fallen in, and is covered with soil and shrubs, that the subdivisions are not easily traced. On its disuse as a heathen temple, it is said to have been occupied as a residence by the foreign invaders of the island at different periods; and the tradition is slightly confirmed, by the building being commonly known as “Il palazzo del Re Barbaro,” though this title may have also been derived from its having been the residence of Barbarus, the Roman governor, at the period of the martyrdom of St. Gavino, circa A.D. 800. It was subsequently the Palazzo di Torres, at which the Giudici of the province resided, and where Constantino died in 1127.

Adjoining the temple are the remains of a basilica

and tribunal, on the north side of which are some steps leading down to the sea ; and embedded in a wall near it, is a basso-relievo, about three feet six inches high, and two feet wide, representing a female figure, with the right arm raised to the head, and a short inscription, evidently monumental. Another relievo, having on it a hare chased by dogs, was discovered near it at the same time, and has been placed in the museum at Sassari.

To the westward are the side walls, recesses, and other parts of baths, with mosaic pavements, the patterns of which are mostly figures of birds, animals, and scrolls, in black on a white ground. These remains are now used as reservoirs for mortar, and a similarly merciless disregard is shewn to all others, as the people use whatever they can find for building materials, and work the ancient blocks of stone and marble into the brick, mud, and pebbles, of which their houses are made. There is hardly a piece of ground in the vicinity, which has not produced pottery, coins, brass and bronze ornaments, among which latter were some lamps with horses' heads, indicative of a Carthaginian origin.* Maria Teresa, wife of Vittorio Emanuele, made some successful excavations ; several inscriptions and sarcophagi, found at different times, have been deposited in the museum at Sassari, and there is no doubt other valuable antiquities would repay a further search.

Part of the Roman aqueduct which supplied Porto Torres with water is still used for the same purpose, and terminates at a fountain close to the shore, remarkable for nothing but its ugliness ; and to the left of the town, over the river Torritano, is the Roman bridge, composed of several small irregular arches, with the pe-

* Münter, *Religion der Karthager*, p. 102.

culiar circumstance of being on an inclined plane from a high to a low bank.

History gives no further account of the town than that it was subjected to the irruptions and ravages of the Vandals, Saracens, and Corsairs ; that it existed till 1166, when, sacked by the Genoese, and left by them a mass of ruins, a great part of the population retired to the then little village of Sassari ; but the Giudici and Archbishops continued to reside there till 1441, when they also migrated, leaving the town with scarcely an inhabitant.

Among the modern objects of interest is the church, dedicated to San Gavino, supposed to have been built by Comita, or Gonnario, the Giudici of Torres, at the beginning of the eleventh century, an assumption to a certain extent confirmed by the simplicity of the architecture, though it bears many evidences of subsequent alterations and additions. The roof, which is of lead, rests on beams, so placed that it does not touch the walls, and consequently admits the light and air through the interstices ; and other loopholes and crevices tell of the days when the church became a fortress against the attack of the Corsairs, from whom it suffered severely. The two aisles are formed by twenty-two columns, eleven in each row, all of different orders and characters, lengthened or shortened, *ad libitum*, and dug up from among the ruins in the neighbourhood.

Behind the high altar, which has been lately renovated with Carrara marble, is a double picture, painted by Francesco di Castello of Rome, in 1799, one side representing the martyrdom of San Gavino, a saint of great importance in the Logudoro Calendar, and after whom three quarters of the population seem to be called Biangiu, or Biangia, his abbreviated name.

According to Sarde martyrology, he commanded the Roman army at Torres, in the reign of Diocletian, and after persecuting the Christians became converted, and was baptized by two priests, named Protus and Januarius, at that time imprisoned for their doctrines. A marvellous legend is made of their miracles and sufferings, which terminated in their being beheaded on the 25th October, A. D. 300, at a spot about two miles from the town called Balai, where a little chapel and three chambers, excavated in the rock, are shewn as the site of their imprisonment and decollation, resembling those at Granada, in which the Christians suffered.

The glorious discovery of the bodies of this glorious triumvirate is attributed to Gonnario, Giudice of Torres and Arborea, in the beginning of the eleventh century. San Gavino is not, as has been supposed, the same individual who suffered under the reign of Adrian, and was buried with all saintly honors in the old Basilica Vaticana. The Roman Gavino is duly admitted into the Roman martyrology; but the Porto Torres saint seems not to have shewn sufficient title to canonisation, and the Apostolic See only admits him as an imitation of their own original. Notwithstanding the bar sinister of his shield of martyrdom, many works have been written to prove his legitimacy, and the curious in ecclesiastical traditions may find much to read, and a great deal more to believe, than is worth the trial of their patience or faith.

His remains, as well as those of Protus and Januarius, were dug up in the crypt, with great pomp and ceremony, in the year 1614, under the superintendence of the ecclesiastical authorities of Sassari; and a Sarde author, writing in the year 1841, enumerates the following, as evidences of the sanctity of these remains :

“ I portenti ch  accompagnato avevano le invenzioni, come gli uditisi musicali concetti in piu luoghi, gl’improvvisi splendori apparsi nel tempio, le soavi fragranze esalate dalle tombe, la copia dei miracoli sperimentati dei devoti, tratti da una forza soprannaturale a venerare la santit  di quelle ossa.” “ The portents accompanying the discovery, the musical harmonies heard in many places, the unexpected splendors appearing in the temple, the frequent perfumes emitted from the tombs, the number of miracles performed upon the devout, drawn by a supernatural force to venerate the sanctity of these bones,” &c., &c.

In one of the aisles is a marble sarcophagus, 7 feet 4 inches long and 2 feet 6 inches high, with a well executed relievo representing Apollo surrounded by the Muses, and another in the crypt 2 feet 11 inches wide, 7 feet 2 inches long, and 3 feet 3 inches high, with a similar subject; both found among the ruins close to the church.

Behind the altar in the crypt are twelve plaster and five marble statues of saints and martyrs of local notoriety, some of which are well done, and it is not only the Porto Torres Pantheon of apotheosised ecclesiastics who have suffered corporeal torments, but the theatre for the performances of the Frati Filippini, an order of monks residing at Sassari, who, thinking “ to merit heaven by making earth a hell,” perform constant pilgrimages to this spot for the purpose of self-flagellation; of which the effects were shewn to me in a few drops of blood shed three days previously.

I saw this ceremony at Rome some years since, but the consciences of the monks at the Eternal City are tougher and their skins tenderer, as they castigated themselves while well protected by their thick clothes;

but the more scrupulous race of Sarde fanatics strip themselves for the self-infliction, under the impression that the admiring spectators would not be satisfied with mental sufferings unless accompanied by visible signs of carnal torture,—advantageous also to themselves, as producing alms and contributions as well as pity.

Porto Torres, an episcopal see in the fifth century, was subsequently archiepiscopal, and the throne transferred to Sassari in 1441 ; and a miserable house with a portcullis over the gateway in a court-yard are the only remains of the bishop's palace.

In a small church, La Consolata, are two ancient Roman columns, and two pictures of a very indifferent performance, though attributed to the Caracci school. There are no buildings in the town worthy of notice, except the mole forming the port, with an octagon tower of considerable size erected in 1549. The galley-slaves are employed as at Alghero, in clearing out the harbour with a mud-dredge ; but the Sisyphean labors are not of sufficient benefit to enable vessels of any size to enter, and they are consequently obliged to go to the roadstead, about a mile from the shore.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages the commerce of the place has much increased during the last ten years, and the success is mainly attributable to the existence of a good road to Sassari. 195 vessels entered the port during the fifteen months from the 1st of January, 1842, to the 31st of March, 1843, of which 133 were Genoese, 27 French, 19 Sarde, 10 Neapolitan, 3 English, 2 Tuscan, and 1 Luccese. Of the three denominated English vessels one was Maltese, another Ionian, and the third was purely English, but driven in by stress of weather.

Owing to the unhealthiness of the climate ships

rarely lie during the summer and autumn at Porto Torres, but proceed to Asinara; nor do the Sassarese then make their wonted excursions on the Feste to enjoy the united mental and corporeal influences of San Gavino and sea air. On the natives of Porto Torres neither the saints nor the salt appear to act beneficially, for their pale emaciated countenances but too faithfully portray the more powerful predominance of the intemperie, which rages in its greatest violence during the months of July and August, and gradually softens down by October; reminding one of the adage of the yellow fever in the West Indies, "July you die; August, you must; September, remember; October, all over." The Torrese assert that it arises from the decomposition of the sea weed, which, accumulating during the winter, is cleared out in the spring and carried to rot in the neighbourhood; but had they even the industry to burn or use it as manure, the evil would not be remedied, as the exhalations from the undrained and uncultivated lands surrounding the village are the real cause.

The costume of the women is a yellow bodice trimmed with black velvet, fitting tightly to the figure; the front being open and a white kerchief covering the bosom; the petticoat of coarse red cloth, and the head-dress a coloured kerchief, dropping negligently on the shoulders and neck. The male dress is similar to that of the Algerese.

The coast is mostly uncultivated ground, coarse pasture, or covered with wild thyme, rosemary, cistus, lentiscus, genesta, and dwarf juniper, which latter is called the Scopà di Donna, from the twigs of it being made into the Scopeta, or brush used by the women in every house in clearing out their ovens.

Before commencing the inland journey some notice of the system of travelling may be given, to advise the visitor before touching the shores of the island to bid a long farewell to comfort, cleanliness, and even conveniences, for, if unprepared "to rough it," he may regret the day he left *terra ferma*. The locomotive statistics may be thus summed up. Two caleches make the journey daily to and from Porto Torres and Sassari; two others, a species of diligence, leave the latter town for Cagliari twice a week, with a similar correspondence from the south to the north; there are three vehicles for hire at Porto Torres, seven at Sassari, four at Macomer, and about twenty at Cagliari; these and about ten private carriages make the sum total in the island;—sufficient for the unlocomotive propensities of the inhabitants and their almost roadless country.

In regard to hotels, none deserve that title, though assumed by the only three small inns. One at Sassari, a small boarding house with a *table d'hôte—en pension*—was shut up before I left the town; at Alghero, a second floor in a little house where filth and wretchedness defy description, barely offers refuge for a stranger; and at Cagliari, is a locanda of a third rate continental style; but in almost every village is an *ostelleria*—a species of half stable, half house, frequented by the *viandanti* in their journeys.

Von Arnim mentions, in 1844, the existence of a house outside the town, at Sassari, one story of which was divided into two inns on the right and left of the staircase,—the *Albergo al Leone d'oro*, the other, the *Albergo Sassarese*; the latter, the grandest and best, consisted of two rooms.*

* *Flüchtige Bemerkungen eines Flüchtig-Reisenden*, vol. ii. p. 194.

In Sardinia, therefore, as in all countries where civilisation has not established regular roads and inns, the system of receiving travellers is, to a certain extent, a necessity, custom, and almost a law; the *jus hospitii* being as much in force there in the present day as it was amongst the Romans; and Jupiter Hospitalis finds a shrine in every village as well as palace in the island. Valuable letters of introduction procured me a kind reception in all parts, and though aware of the Sardinian character for hospitality, it far exceeded my expectations; one-eighth of the letters were neither requisite nor delivered, and my only embarrassment was the choice and decision as to the party to whom I should apply for board and lodging.

The traveller is sent from village to village with a note, or merely a verbal message, either being sufficient to ensure a hearty welcome; and the following is one among my many opportunities of testing their hospitality. On arriving at a village, and while my servant had taken in my letter of introduction, one of the inmates of the house informed me of a death which had taken place in the family a few days previously, and while expressing my regret at having presented the letter, and apologising for having intruded under such circumstances, the master of the house came out and insisted on my staying with him. I pleaded my ignorance of the melancholy event and declined accepting his offer; but perceiving the refusal was solely out of delicacy, he drew up, and seizing me by the hand, exclaimed, "No, no; though we have lost a relative we shall gain a friend. Her death is a misery to us, and your presence will not make it greater; but not to shew hospitality to a stranger would be a reproach to us, and would indeed increase our unhappiness." It was said with such

fervor that I consented, though reluctantly, to his proposition; the scene reminding one of that of Alcestes, whose hospitality being refused from a similar cause, a dialogue ensues, from which my Sarde friend might almost have been accused of quoting. Euripides, *Alcest.*, v. 571.

"No, indeed, for my calamity would be
No whit the less, and I without my guest;
And to my grief would this be added too,
To have my house inhospitable called."

The only instance of inhospitality arose from a mistake, and is equally illustrative of the people. While wandering in some of the wildest parts, I was prevented arriving at a certain village in the evening, and obliged to halt at another, a few miles short of the proposed point. Having no letter of introduction, I went to the priest's house, and sent up my guide to ask the favor of a night's lodging, and, after waiting some minutes, he returned with the answer that the padre did not choose to admit me. This unexpected refusal induced me to inquire minutely of my guide the exact words of the priest, and my cavallante being equally surprised at the answer, elicited, after much cross-questioning, that the priest had shewn considerable suspicion and fear as to who I was. During this private confabulation, the reverend man, peeping out of his glassless windows, had seen and heard that I was neither Sarde nor Piedmontese; and having overtaken me a few yards from his house, he with great courtesy inquired if it was I who was in want of a night's shelter. Feeling a little annoyed at what had occurred, I replied hastily and imprudently, that I was the person, but was no longer in want of it, and was going to a more hospitable house. At the words "*me ne vado ad una casa piu ospitabile*," his

eyes flashed, the blood rose to his face, with a modulated voice he began a series of apologies for his mistake, and seizing my bridle amid a volubility of incomprehensible excuses, he led my horse back to his door, entreating me not to hurt his feelings by going away ; and, after nearly pulling me off my saddle, led me into his house. His apparently cold and hot fit of hospitality was subsequently explained by there having lately been some cases of vendetta in the neighbourhood, and that, on seeing my guide (whose character by-the-bye was not immaculate on that point), he had suspected us to be fuorosciti, with some sinister design of obtaining a shelter under his roof. His conduct during the evening proved the sincerity of his assertions, by frequently reproaching himself for his unintentional rudeness, and mine quite disarming him of his fears, we had a comfortable supper, and spent the greater part of the night in conversation ; local anecdotes being exchanged for a description of England, of which he was most anxious to hear some particulars. His inquiries were a satisfactory proof of his geographical knowledge ; that England was an island beyond Terra-ferma (Piedmont) he had not dreamt of in his philosophy, and wished to know whether the word Britannia meant a king or a town ! Most of his observations shewed a similar ignorance ; but nothing exceeded his delight on the subject of tea, which, though he had heard of, he had never seen or tasted. Having a small quantity, I made him some, and he drank seven or eight large cups full in succession ; his servant being no less surprised at the beverage than at her master's deep potations, and indicating by the expression on her countenance a strong suspicion that I was poisoning him. His incredulity about tea coming from China was immovable ; and, after learning where

that country was, he told me somewhat indignantly, that, "though he was not a literato, yet he knew better than to believe that people sent great ships merely to fetch dried leaves, however delicious they were, from such a distance." We parted early in the morning; he, delighted with my valedictory gift of some of the dried leaves for his future use, and I, highly pleased with his hospitality. But however great may be the attention and kindness of one's host, certain disadvantages and inconveniences attend this mode of travelling, for after starting on a journey at day-break, the fatigues of ten and twelve hours on horseback make one little inclined for the formalities of a reception, with the etiquette required on those occasions; and a host's anxiety to please and amuse, often amounts to something more than a superfluity, and even to an embarrassment, if one has any pursuit or occupation beyond the mere passing away the evening.

Full many a time had one to appear delighted with, and reiterate thanks for attentions shewn by the family, which the heart tacitly wished to escape. The supper-table groaning with the weight of viands of every description, was a necessary evidence to prove a welcome; but even a long day's journey and a tolerable appetite, by no means ensure the requisite capacity and compliment of eating copiously of all of them. Full many a time was I denounced as a bad guest for not eating at one repast what would really have sufficed for two days' meals; and as a Sarde's capabilities in that respect are by no means inferior to his sentiments of hospitality, it was not easy to prove that my appreciation of the latter ought not to be tested by my inability to compete with them in the former. Dishes after dishes seemed so many incarnations of the demons

of nightmare, dyspepsia, and apoplexy ; and the wines to be the liquefied regions from whence they came. The lateness of the supper hour is another objection, and “beauty sleep” before midnight is little known in their computation of time. Frequently between eleven and twelve have I heard the summons to proceed to the table, with a mind and body equally unprepared for an hour’s gastronomical campaign. On one occasion, having proved myself a first-rate guest by tasting some eight or ten dishes, and rejoicing in my own prowess and their removal from the table, my host exclaimed, “Well, as you have eaten nothing, you shall have something more acceptable and agreeable.” At the words, “*piu grato e piacevole*,” my heart yearned for a bed—rest and quiet being my only interpretation of the expression ; and the conversation turning on that subject led me into a belief that we were about to retire from the table. But the door soon opened, and the servant, instead of bringing the anticipated bed lamps, rushed violently in with an immense dish, which by-the-bye he nearly upset into my lap, as if it had been predestined to my particular share. A whole roasted wild boar lay before me ! Silently sighing at the approaching labor, I instinctively, but unconsciously, put my hand to my stomach, as an act of defence and pity ; but my host unfortunately perceiving and misinterpreting my gesture into one of pleasure, exclaimed, “Ah ! how glad I am that I happened to have the cinghiale to-day ; I will give you a good slice of it” (“*un pezzone*”), and suiting the action to the word, he plunged in his knife and fork, and before I could recover my astonishment, a plate was before me, with a portion of the animal which would have sufficed the combined appetites of six Germans at a Jagdschmaus. All excuse, apology, and

entreaty to be relieved of forty-nine parts of it were in vain ; and though in eating the fiftieth I did contrive to offer up a tribute to my host's feelings and hospitality, it was one of the strongest appeals to self-sacrifice ever made by a victimised stomach ; and during my restless, sleepless night, I could do little else but exclaim, with Juvenal :

“ Quanta est gula, quæ sibi totos
Ponit apros,—animal propter convivia natum ! ”

It frequently happened that my hosts invited a few friends to spend the evening with them to enable them to see what species of the genus homo an Englishman is ; for most of them, never having seen one, were curious to ascertain this point of natural history ; and if the exhibition only afforded them a hundredth part of the amusement that it did to me, they must have been highly entertained. Among the various instances of reciprocal astonishment at each other's customs was the following :—On arriving at a friend's house, and retiring to my room after a short conversation with the family, I sent my servant, so as not to derange the household by such an unusual demand, for some jugs of water and the largest tub he could find ; but while in the midst of my ablutions after a long and hot ride, the door suddenly opened, and my host entered, with four or five visitors in his rear, who, nothing daunted at my nudity, were formally presented to me, and, wrapping myself up in my dressing-gown, I had thus to receive their compliments and the usual felicitations. Finding the floor wet and other evidences of washing, he asked what I was about,—imagining at first, from my nakedness, that I was merely going to bed for half an hour's rest, and adopting their custom of sleeping without any

clothes ; but in replying that I was only taking a kind of cold bath, there was a general outcry of surprise.—“ How—what—why,—wash at this time of the evening ?—wash in cold water !—what a quantity of it !—not necessary—very dangerous—what is the good of it ? Do all your countrymen do such things ? Are they very dirty in England ? We don’t wash in that way—why do you ? ” It was impossible to answer their confused questions ; what to English eyes and ears would be considered indelicate, was to them a matter of harmless curiosity and innocence. After some delay my new acquaintances took the hint that the levee had better be held down stairs, where, on my re-appearance, the same questions were repeated, and even alluded to by the ladies, who were equally at a loss to account for this extravagant use of water.

The whole party had evidently been canvassing the subject, *guttatim*—drop by drop ; and, by this act, one more was added to the many charges against our nation for their apparent eccentricities and peculiarities in foreign countries. In most houses admitting of an extra room, one is set apart for the guests,—the “ hospitale cubiculum ” of the Romans,—ready and open to all strangers ; and its sanctity (except when washing) is as great as in former days. The guest is generally expected to give some little trifle in money to the servant of the house on parting ; but it would be a high offence—as I found on several occasions—to offer the host, however humble and poor, any payment for the expense or trouble he may have incurred. The traveller may, with great advantage, carry with him a little stock of Genoese filagree brooches, ear-rings, rings, &c., or little colored silk kerchiefs, as presents ; their effect is prodigious, being

thankfully accepted where money would be spurned, and where it is difficult to know how to repay a kindness.

These observations on board, lodging, hospitality, and locomotion, may be concluded with the subject of Sarde horses, on which the natives have from time immemorial prided themselves. Their early laws shew that much encouragement and attention were formerly paid to the breed; by the *Carta di Logu*, ch. 88, 89, 90, and 91, laws in force at the end of the 14th century, the number to be kept by each feudal baron, as well as the price and quality, was fixed; and under Filippo II. and III., the regulations, though stringent, were equally advantageous for the maintenance and improvement of the race. Vide *Las Pragmaticas*, lib. xliii. ch. 17; and *Capitula* lib. viii. ch. 8. Though there are several instances of the Aragon kings giving them as royal presents, and their value was appreciated even by the Roman Emperors, as Valentinian had a breeding stud and establishment in the island (Vide *Ammian. Marcell. Hist.* lib. xxix. ch. 3), little attention is paid to it by the present royal dynasty; but in a conversation with his Majesty on some horses he had bought during his late visit, to be sent to Turin, he mentioned that his *Terra-ferma* breed had been much improved by those he had already received from the island.

Their great virtues are docility, sure-footedness, and endurance—essential requisites, as the traveller will find; but in general they are very small, and not handsome, according to our ideas of shape and symmetry; but to disparage a Sarde's horse to his face is as dangerous as to praise his wife.

The wild race existing formerly in the districts of Goceano, the Nurra, and the island of St. Antioco, so

indomitable that they were only killed for their skins, is extinct; the best are now obtained from the Regia Tanca, at Paulolino, Padrumannu, and Bonorva, but their goodness is attributable to the pasture and safety of the inclosures, rather than to any care and selection in the breeding, nor is there any regular establishment to superintend it.

The Sardes subdivide the genus into three species; Cavallo Sardo, par excellence, to which, being as proud of it as of themselves, a considerable value is attached; the Quataglio, answering to our colt, is used for general purposes, and the Achetta is a small mongrel breed, exceedingly hardy, and subjected to heavy burdens, hard work, long journeys, starvation, and other rough usage, enough to wring the heart of even a Sarde society for the prevention of cruelty to animals. Valery, following Mimaut, with an easy belief, states that this species is so domesticated and easily provided for, that "souvent ils n'ont pas d'autre écurie que le dessous du lit de leur maître;"* but though I passed an easy night on a tunny bedding, it was not my fortune either to try, see, or hear of this horse-hair mattress in my peregrinations. As in most parts of the island they are the only means of transport, the abundance of these animals is such that a villager must be poor indeed if he does not own one; *keep* one, would be an erroneous expression, for the poor creatures keep themselves, quite independently of their owners, and are rarely spoilt by indulgence in feeds of corn. Their average price is about four pounds, and to the cheapness, number, and boast that every one makes of his steed, may be attributed the national love of horse-racing.

The colts are broken and used at two years old, the

* Page 108.

stick, sharp bit, and starvation, forming the principal parts of their education ; but much attention is paid to giving the better class of horse a peculiar step, called “portante,” for which we have neither a corresponding word nor pace, being something between an amble and a trot, and taught in the following manner :—

The fore and hind legs are attached to each other by two cords, supported by others fastened to the saddle, so as to prevent their dragging on the ground ; and



SARDE HORSE TRAINING FOR THE “PORTANTE” PACE.

thus fettered the horse is put into action, the trainer pulling the right and left side of the bit alternately, and giving a corresponding pressure with his leg, which forces the animal to move either the two off or two near legs simultaneously, producing thereby an easy *glissade* step. It has been compared to the Turkish amble, but, judging from personal experience, it is as dissimilar as it is to our cavalry or farmer's trot. The movement is delightfully easy, especially convenient where one has to be on horseback for many

consecutive hours, and, as Cetti says, “*Il viaggiare in Sardegna e perciò la piu dolce cosa del mondo ; l’anti-pongo all’andare in barca col vento in poppa.*”—“The travelling in Sardinia is, on this account, one of the most agreeable things in the world ; I prefer it to going in a boat with the wind astern.”

In the hiring of horses it is unnecessary to make a very stringent agreement with the “*Cavallante*,” the man who accompanies, and who is generally the owner of the animal. He will also act as guide, assistant, and, partially, as servant ; but for these services, not being his duties, he has extra payment. In regard to expenses, I had three horses, two for myself and servant, and the third for my baggage, on the top of which sat the *Cavallante* ; and my arrangement was for 13 lire nove, 10s. 4½*d.* per day, whether halting or travelling, with an optional “*buona mano*” at the end of the engagement, if performed to my satisfaction. For this sum he maintained himself and horses in everything, and I had no expense beyond occasionally hiring a fourth horse and man to relieve my baggage horse when pressed for time, or when my *Cavallante* was not certain of the paths. He gave me little cause of complaint, being honest, sober, and careful, and has been thus spoken of, as he will appear before the reader in various scenes. A *Porto d’armi*, or permission to carry any arms, is a necessary precaution, and can be obtained from the authorities at Sassari, or Cagliari.

In reference to the roads, the only one which can be legitimately so called, is the *Strada Centrale*, or *Reale*, from Cagliari to Porto Torres, which was commenced in 1822 ; and as it was only possible to work during the winter and spring months, on account of intemperie, it was not finished till 1829 ; during which time more

than half the engineers employed in the construction died, or were obliged to retire from the effects of that fatal malady. Many of the contractors had been previously engaged in the works on the Simplon and Mont Cenis; and, as well as the engineers, have been signally successful in this excellent high road. Its total length is 234,821 mètres 40 ctm: or nearly 146 miles; its width 7 mètres, or 22 feet 11 inches; of which 5 mètres 50 ctm, or 18 feet, are actual carriage road; the highest point is 654 mètres 70 ctm, or about 2146 feet above the level of the sea, with gradients never exceeding 7 mètres in 100, or 1 foot in $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet; and the Case di ricovero, cantonieres, or stations, erected at certain distances, for the people employed in the repairs, frequently afford a welcome shelter to the traveller. The original cost was 3,962,051 lire nove, or about 158,482*l.*; and the tax annually raised for the maintenance of the public roads generally, "Ponte e Strade," namely, 71,999 lire nove 30 cts., about 2280*l.*, is either insufficient, or so misapplied, that none of the other projected branches have, as yet, been finished, though in one or two districts they have been commenced, and a very small portion is now carriageable. The government, however, intended, in 1844, to contract a loan for 4 millions of lire nove at 5 per cent. redeemable at twenty-four years by annual instalments, with the avowed intention of applying it in their construction; it is, therefore, possible that this deplorable deficiency of means of communication may be remedied. The loss and disadvantage arising from their present condition will be frequently instanced, and it only remains to mention the distance between each town on this central road, reduced into English measure.

**DISTANCES ON THE STRADA REALE,
THE HIGH ROAD BETWEEN CAGLIARI AND SASSARI.**

		English	
		Miles.	Feet.
DISTRICT OF CAGLIARI.			
From Cagliari to the first Casa di ricovero of Sestu ...	6	1129	
From thence to Monastir	6	2789	
" " Serrenti	7	4051	
" " Sanluri	6	2596	
" " Sardara	6	1614	
DISTRICT OF ORISTANO.			
From Sardara to Uras	8	3693	
From thence to the Albero del fico in the Campo S. Anna	8	4594	
" " Porta Pontis at Oristano	6	2659	
" " Bridge of Tramazza	7	4707	
" " Mill at Paulolatino	8	2973	
DISTRICT OF MACOMER.			
From Paulolatino to Abbasanta	5	1382	
From thence to the Roman Road.....	7	1924	
" " Monte Muradu	6	2142	
" " the Hill of Bonorva	6	4987	
" " the Giavesu Plain	5	3587	
" " Toralba	5	1356	
DISTRICT OF SASSARI.			
From Toralba to Monte Santo.....	5	2908	
From thence to the Campo Lazzaro.....	6	1129	
" " the Ponte Nuovo	5	4929	
" " Sassari	5	3420	
" " the Ponte de Ottava	5	1745	
" " Porto Torres.....	6	2562	
		145	4776

While the locomotive epidemic was raging in England, and John Bull was so impressed with the notion that not even foreigners could move twenty miles from their homes without a railway constructed by British capital and enterprise, the following speculation appeared. It is a worthy specimen of the art then flourishing among provisional committees, engineers, and solicitors, of making a country for a railway, as well as a railway for a country. That a line from Porto Torres to Cagliari might be very advantageous to the Sardes, and even profitable as a speculation, under a totally different system of government, with commercial freedom is undeniable; but the El Dorado inducements held out are too Utopian to be realised in the present condition of the island, many of them being as imaginary as some of the places whose names have been given in a little map which accompanied the prospectus.

GREAT CENTRAL SARDINIAN RAILWAY,

CONNECTING THE IMPORTANT CITIES AND TOWNS OF CAGLIARI, ORISTANO, SASSARI, PORTO TORRES, AND INTERMEDIATE TOWNS, WITH BRANCHES TO IGLESIAS AND ALGHERO.

*Capital 3,000,000*l.* (36,000,000 florins.)*

In 60,000 Shares of 50*l.* each, with a reserve for Sardinia.

Deposit, 1*l.* 5*s.* per share.

Sardinia, one of the largest and most fertile islands in Europe, has long been regarded as one of the most favorable positions for a line of railway, and only awaits the necessary arrangements being completed to have the required concession.

No sovereign of Europe has evinced a stronger disposition to promote the prosperity of all classes of his people, and to develop the vast latent resources of his country, by stimulating commercial enterprise of every wholesome description, than his Majesty the

King of Sardinia ; and amongst the powerful means for bringing into action the commercial energies of his country, the establishment of railways is of the first importance.

Sardinia is admirably situated between Italy, France, Spain, and Africa, and is immediately contiguous to Corsica ; and whilst its products already supply those countries and the north of Europe, it will prove, by means of railway transit, a ready and valuable market for many articles of British industry, such as woollens, cottons, glass, pottery, porcelain, &c.

It is singularly favoured by its climate and position. It was, with Sicily, the celebrated granary of ancient Rome, as it now is of modern Italy, and a portion of the south of France. Its resources in agriculture, mines, and fisheries, are so abundant, that even within the last twenty years it has made the most rapid advances in prosperity and opulence.

The country is composed of vast plains, fertile vineyards, corn-fields, olive-grounds, extensive pastures, orchards, and gardens.

The exports of articles can not only be effected at the terminal points of the railway and its branches, but through the same means be speedily forwarded in every direction ; as, for instance, to the safe and beautiful harbours of St. Pietro, Porto Torres, Vignola, and Tortoli.

For its mineral riches, Sardinia has, from the most ancient times, been celebrated. Silver is found in considerable quantities at Talana, Iglesias, and Sarabus. Copper is common to many places. Iron is plentiful, the richest mines being in the Ogliastrea. Mines of lead are numerous, especially in the districts of Iglesias. Sarabus, Villa Grande, Arbus, Flumini-major, Nurra, and Muravera.

There also exist bismuth, antimony, and the loadstone. Quick-silver has been found at Oristano ; and among other materials may be mentioned porphyry, basalt, alabaster, the most beautiful marbles, large masses of quartz, rock crystals, cornelean, sardonyx, tourquoise, and garnets. Nitre is likewise found, as well as coal, in large quantities.

The general fecundity enables a large exportation of wheat, barley, maize, flour, biscuit, maccaroni, and pulse ; oils, (almond, olive, and linseed ;) honey, and wax ; wines of many kinds and exquisite qualities, unknown in the English market ; brandy and

liqueurs ; fruits of almost every variety, including grapes, figs, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, and citrons ; whilst many esculent plants of our colder regions grow wild in the greatest luxuriance ; silk, cotton, wool, tobacco, madder, barrilla, rock-mosses, and many precious medicinal herbs. Several thousands of cantars of cheese are annually shipped for Naples and Malta, being in both places highly appreciated, and in great demand. Salt also is an abundant article of export, especially to the Piedmontese States. The carriage of these articles from every position of the country is wearisome, and effected by the natives ; but easy communication by railway will leave the people to a more profitable occupation of their time. There is also an extensive manufacture of linens, carpets, bed-covers of Fonni, light flannels, and shawls. Fine lard, hams, supressada, and bacon, are also exported in quantities of about 1200 cantars of each. A very large and rapidly increasing trade is carried on with Marseilles and other places, in hides of ox, sheep, goat, kid, lamb, fox, martin, hare, and rabbit skins. To this may be added at least 13,000 cantars of dried skins.

At the present moment, the export of wines amounts to above 13,000 Catalan pipes, and of olive oil alone, at Sassari, to 10,000 barrels, but these quantities will be increased in a manifold degree, through the facilities afforded by railway transit, and the same may be safely affirmed of every other article of marketable value. The woods and forests abound in stags, mufflons, wild boars, and every variety of game. The waters yield above 150 varieties of fish, among which the most important is the Tunny. Every part of this large and most valuable fish is turned to account ; it is preserved and conveyed throughout the continent, and the catching, curing, and selling it is so lucrative a trade, that at only one station and in one season, where 3,680 tunnies were caught, there was, after deducting all expenses, a clear profit of 9,516*l.* sterling. The whole profit in this one article along the coasts amounts to a very large sum, but it is capable of an extraordinary increase.

The coral and other fisheries annually employ, from Naples and Genoa, several hundred vessels, which have to encounter a most dangerous navigation around the island and stay many months, whereas the produce of such fisheries can be expeditiously trans-

mitted by railway without waiting for changes and risking the evils of a lee-shore wind. Vessels are at present windbound for months together ; but by improvements contemplated in the harbours, these would become the finest, as they are the most central in the Mediterranean. Fish will be carried at a cheap rate into the interior of the country, and be made available to the wants of the poorest of the population.

The railway, by its facilities, will give energy to unemployed hands throughout the country, and the property around it will increase in value twenty-fold when its vast resources shall be developed.

There are not any engineering difficulties, the line passing through open and fertile plains, of which a very large portion of this country is composed, and taking within its range a population of several hundred thousand. Unlike other extensive districts of Europe, there are in this favoured country, timber, coal, iron, and labour to be had on the spot ; in fact, most things necessary for the proper construction and subsequent economical maintenance of so important an undertaking.

The most careful calculation, based upon official statistical reports, and the best information at present obtainable with regard to the traffic through the interior, shew, after deducting forty per cent for working the line, a net revenue to the company of not less than eight and a half to ten per cent.

The peculiarly favorable circumstances attending the construction of this railway, make it highly probable that a large portion of the capital asked for will not be required ; and when it is considered that the line runs nearly through the centre of the island from north to south,—each of its termini being the great ports and capitals of the country ; and that the whole produce of the fertile districts through which it will run must by it be conducted to the outports, together with the important fact that the natural organization of the country does not admit of a competing line ; and also that there is a population of several hundred thousand souls directly bearing upon it ; it is but reasonable to conclude, that the facilities afforded by the railway in this, as in every other instance, will rapidly increase the transit of goods and passengers, and thereby add considerably each successive year to the value of the investment.

CHAPTER IV.

Porto Torres to Sassari.—French Colony.—Roman Aqueduct.—Noraghe.—Murder.—Situation and History of Sassari.—Population.—Genoese Influence.—Priesthood.—Society.—Ignorance and Curiosity.—Anecdote of a “Primo Violino.”—Easter Ceremonies and Processions.—Te Deum.—Festa dei sette Dolori.—Costumes.—Viandanti Custom.—Cathedral.—Churches.—Monasteries.—University.—Museum.—Library.—MSS. of Azuni.—Examination for Degree.—Congratulatory Odes and Embraces.—Convocation.—Rivalry with the Cagliari University.—The Castello.—Fountain of Rosello.—Ritta Christina.—Environs of the City.—Gardens.—Oranges, Myrtles, Roses, and Olive Groves.—Tobacco Trade.—Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Island.—Traditions.—Number of Clergy.—Parishes and Churches.—Poverty and Education.—Tithes.—Revenues.—Popes, Saints, and Martyrs.—Feste.—Monasteries and Orders.—Jesuits.—Vacant Dioceses and Livings.—Indulgences.—Right of Sanctuary.—Powers of the Priesthood.—Their relative Position to the Government.

THE road from Porto Torres to Sassari, the distance of which is about twelve miles, passes over a slightly undulating country, which, notwithstanding the excellence of the soil, is only partially cultivated. A district has been lately leased to some French colonists, and their first efforts were most unfortunate; for, according to report, the greater part of the laborers, whom they brought with them from France, died the first year from fever and other complaints brought on by their own imprudence. The insalubrity of the place

has been greatly diminished by drainage ; but the colonists still suffer much inconvenience and damage from the trespasses of the shepherds, who by no means allow the supposed title of 1000 years' lease to be of any value against their assumed right of general pasturage,—a fine of 20 lire nove, or 16s., being as useless a protection to the one as it is warning to the other. About six miles from Porto Torres are remains of the Roman aqueduct, and they may be traced very distinctly to the hills overhanging Sassari, from which it is supplied with water. Near it, on the east side of the road, is a small Noraghe, the first that the traveller sees when proceeding from Porto Torres to Sassari ; but it is so small and imperfect, that however great may be his anxiety to inspect one of these monuments, he may with safety reserve the gratification of his curiosity for a more satisfactory indulgence. It is not more than thirteen feet high, and composed of stones from two to four feet long by one to two wide, the interior chamber having a cell about seven feet long and two and a half wide ; but the whole is so dilapidated, that but little idea can be formed of its original size and plan.

The river Ottava, though still retaining its classical name, is uncelebrated in ancient history. A small cave in its bank was two years since the scene of a fiendish murder, and the remains of a female were discovered so cut up and mangled that it was with difficulty the sex could be distinguished ; and as they were still warm and reeking in their blood, it is supposed the miscreant was interrupted and obliged to leave his victim unburied. It was subsequently discovered that she had been murdered by her own husband in a fit of jealousy and vendetta.

A gradual ascent through olive groves leads to the

town of Sassari, which stands on an elevation, of about 656 feet above the level of the sea, having slight valleys on the S.W. and N.E. sides, and the Osilo heights on the east as a background. It has five entrances, none of the gateways of which have much architectural merit, and is enclosed by a high wall forming part of the fortification erected by Don Pedro of Aragon in 1362, with large square towers in various parts from sixty to eighty feet high ; but in many places houses have been built abutting on the walls, which have thereby been much injured.

Nothing satisfactory is known of the foundation of Sassari, or Tatari, as it is called in the Sarde ; but after the extinction of the Giudici of Torres, about the middle of the thirteenth century, and occupation of the province by the Doria, Malaspina, Spinola, and other continental families, it became a republic. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, the Sassarese and Genoese entered into a contract and alliance, offensive and defensive, of which the articles are a curious amalgamation of independence and republicanism assumed by the one, and of interference and jurisdiction claimed by the other. The treaty, the original of which is among the archives of Genoa, is dated April 9th, 1294. The general effect was, that the Sassarese accepted annually from the Genoese a podestà, who swore fidelity to their commune ; and in this state of nominal freedom, but virtual recognition of a foreign interference, it continued till 1306.

One of the earliest acts of this newly constituted community, after its " *non signora ma amica* " alliance, as it was called, was to frame a code of laws for its own especial usage. The original document, known as the " *Codex di Sassari*," still exists in the archives of the town, and is dated 1316, the year in which it was pro-

mulgated. According to the fifth chapter of the statutes, two copies were to be kept for the public use, one in the Sarde, and the other in the Latin tongue. The first is almost perfect, but only portions exist of the latter. The Codex is divided into three parts, the first of which contains the laws relative to alliances; duties of public officers; limits of jurisdiction; fiscal, municipal, and political ordinances; regulations for the exercise of trades and agriculture; and liberties and privileges of the subject. The second part treats of judicial matters, and the third is a body of penal laws. As a specimen of legislation, it is no less peculiar and valuable than the Carta de Logu of the Giudicessa Eleanora. Manno has given a slight, but interesting *résumé* of the principles of this Codex, with some examples of their wisdom, simplicity, justice, and mildness; and he refers to Robertson's Introductory History of the State of Europe, to prove, by the example of the barbarous laws, institutions, and usages in force in other countries at the same period, how infinitely the Codex di Sassari was superior in philosophical legislation and civilisation. An examination of the subject will well repay the antiquary and jurisconsult.

The various petty causes of dispute which arose from time to time between the Sassarese and Genoese, terminated in 1306, in a rupture of the alliance; and this was followed by a voluntary offer of allegiance to Diego II. of Aragon, who, in requital, confirmed by diploma in 1323 all their privileges and rights, as instituted in their Codex. From 1332 it became the scene of the contests of the Genoese, Pisans, Aragonese, Giudici of Arborea, and of the Visconte di Narbona, in their separate and combined endeavors to obtain the possession; suffering no less than ten severe sieges in the short interval between

that year and 1409 ; but though the Sassarese behaved courageously in defence of their city, there is little interest in the details of these wars. It continued to be the victim of contending parties till 1420, when, for the last time, and after a resistance of nearly 100 years, it fell into the hands of Alfonso V., who conferred on it the title of " Città Reale." In the middle of the fifteenth century it flourished both commercially and politically, and enjoyed privileges beyond any of the other towns in the island. From its power and prosperity arose its rivalry with Cagliari, and the jealousies and dissensions in matters of government, religion, and education, have descended from generation to generation. To such importance had it risen, that it continually endeavored to obtain from the Spanish crown the right of having its own Stamenti, independently of those of Cagliari ; but they do not appear to have been held on more than one occasion, namely in 1654. In 1527 the French succeeded in their attack on the town, but were eventually expelled by the natives, who for their fidelity were rewarded by Charles V., and in 1529 upwards of 15,000 were carried off by the plague.

But few events of any importance have occurred since that period, as the city has shared the same fate as the rest of the island in the subsequent changes. Though the two provinces of Cagliari and Sassari have separate jurisdictions, the latter is subordinate to the former, and the governor has a salary of 900 lire nove, or 360*l.* sterling, besides the perquisites of wood, water, salt, candles, and forage for four horses.

The population has varied much in consequence of plagues and wars, and it may be presumed to have been considerable in the thirteenth century, as the town then

consisted of five parishes. At some periods it was as high as 25,000, and at others as low as 2,800 ; and it is now estimated at about 26,000 ; but this calculation is supposed to be too high, and that 25,000 may be the real amount.

The Sassarese have by no means that purity of Sarde blood in their veins which they claim, owing to the repeated colonists from Spain and Genoa, from 1480 to the present time. With the exception of a few of the nobility, the population is more Genoese than Sarde in origin ; most of the wealthy persons at the present period, or their immediate forefathers, having arrived at Sassari with (be it said “ cum grano ”), scarcely a lira to enable them to establish a shop ; and having by their national craft and diligence made very considerable fortunes. They, or their descendants, have almost all the commerce, trade, and employment in their own hands, constituting themselves by their riches a very important and influential portion of the community ; they have the same thralldom over the commerce as the priests have over the conscience of the Sassarese, and it is difficult to say which produces the most abject submission. The Sassarese assert, with ridiculous pride, that when their city was under the protection of Genoa, in the thirteenth century, they only styled that haughty republic in their diplomas and statutes, “ Mater et Magistra nostra—sed non Domina ; ” but as it was then politically, so it is now commercially ; no less envy and animosity existing in the present day, though from different causes ; and amid the reciprocal recriminations of the two races, the active cunning of the one seems on a par with the listless indolence of the other.

One cannot walk sixty yards in the street, or be sixty minutes in a house, without meeting an eccle-

siastic, or some of the living appendages of the Church ; and the numberless anecdotes of their influence, in the families of the highest as well as lowest classes, were confirmed by my own personal experience. Upwards of fifty Jesuits are now established there, and hold high positions in the schools and university. The society of Sassari, as composed of the nobility, government authorities, and employés, the members of the university, the learned professions, and the rich merchants, is subject to all the rivalries and jealousies of rank, power, talent, and wealth ; for, rarely finding a common outlet in external interests and affairs, they vegetate on their own importance, or their neighbours' insignificance ; and, as the steamer only arrives once a fortnight at Porto Torres, from Terra ferma, to give any relief or excitement, the heavy interim is a most monotonous existence.

The censor of the press has a perfect sinecure, and sleeps without anxiety as to dangerous articles in the morrow's journals ; for Sassari is not only virtuously innocent of publishing a newspaper, but even the Cagliari Gazette enlivens not the Cafés, and is rarely found, except in the hands of the authorities and employés, to whom alone its imbecile and falsified contents can be interesting. He is also exempt from much trouble in the examination of books, or, at least, of their title-pages ; their importation and sale being barely sufficient to save the one and only one bookseller of the place, from bankruptcy. With these means of information, and with an education which would little qualify them to benefit themselves, were the censorial prohibitions removed, a great part of the inhabitants pass their lives in a routine of trivial occupations and pursuits, and with few ideas beyond their

own limited sphere. The noblesse of the island are not allowed to go to the Continent without permission ; a restriction said to have been imposed on them, under the Aragon dominion ; but even were they at liberty to travel, a large portion would not, and could not, avail themselves of it, owing to their conflicting pride and poverty. Perhaps, an ignorance of geography might be a slight hindrance to some, judging from the circumstance of my having been appealed to in a discussion between two noblemen, as to the relative position of America and Morocco ; one of whom maintained that the former joined the latter.

It would be unjust to omit the many exceptions to the above standard, for I had the pleasure of being acquainted with several gentlemen whose avocations and learning exempted them from such a profitless career, and whose strong denunciation of the ignorance and listlessness of their fellow-citizens was in proportion to their own industry and talent. During my residence at Sassari, in part of Lent and Easter, there were few gaieties or amusements, the theatres being closed, and dancing forbidden ; and the society consisted merely in visits, and re-unions in the evening, in the style of the Spanish "*tertullia*," with ceremony and etiquette most punctiliously observed. Courtesy and kindness to foreigners, seemed no less an obligation than a voluntary act of pleasure. The rarity of a stranger among them may be the cause of his favorable reception, as well as his being an object of stare and astonishment to the community in general ; and I was frequently addressed by persons of a very respectable condition, with most courteous inquiry as to who and what I was, and the amusing scenes that occurred repaid me for their inquisitiveness. On one occasion, while walking in the

environs of the town, a person followed me, and dodged me at every turn, with a pertinacity that determined me to meet my friend or foe, and if necessary to commence the attack. I had not even the opportunity of taking the initiative, for drawing short up at ten paces, he took off his hat, and, after a most profound bow, a dialogue ensued. "You are a stranger?" "I am." "French?" "No." "Are you English?" "Yes." "Dio mio! how happy I am; I know the English. Oh! that I should live to meet the English again! How well I know the English! Padrone, I am your servant. *Primo violino*, what can I do for you? what do you want? I am *Maestro di capella*, *primo violino*; I served the English in the wars in 1802; *primo violino*. Know the English; yes,—*Primo violino*."

Notwithstanding his knowledge of our nation, it did not extend to our language; and having offered to accompany me, we had a long walk and conversation on a variety of subjects, into all of which he amusingly introduced his important function. He wished to re-enter our naval service, in which he had been musician; asked me various questions as to the state of our ships, and concluded some observations on the size and force of our steamers with his grand climax, "and do they have a *primo violino* on board?" and when speaking of our Chinese war, he suddenly interrupted me—all his interest in the matter being concentrated in the question and answer, "Do you think the Chinese have good *primi violini*, or do they want one?" Among the points of his autobiography, he mentioned his acquaintance with an English family many years since, 'with whom he used to practise singing; and without a moment's pause in his narrative, he began a song. On finishing he asked me if I knew it, and, on shaking my

head in most profound ignorance, he exclaimed, with a shrug—"What ! you don't know that ? it is as well known in England as your alphabet. You—English—and don't know it ?—I—primo violino—know it ; and you do not ?—Proviamola ancora." Again he sang it ; it was so very allegro that it seemed to be a mixture of mutilated country dances ; but not in the least recognising the air, I asked him to pronounce the words slowly. He did so ; but not a letter of it being intelligible, his explanation was confusion worse confounded. Again he repeated the words, and I was giving them up in despair, when they all suddenly broke upon me as intended to be "For unto us a child is born ;" and his joy at my discovery was so great that he recommenced da capo, and with such crescendo vivacity and quickness, that it far exceeded the merriest jig ever composed.

The questions occasionally put by even those of a high rank, as well as their own original and spontaneous observations, were satisfactory evidences that the Jesuits had not allowed the minds of all the nobility to be contaminated by "Useful Knowledge." Some of the ceremonies in the celebration of Easter appeared in many respects different to those of other Roman Catholic countries. From the Thursday till the Sunday the whole population seemed to be either joining in or gazing at processions ; and a description of one will give an idea of their general character. Troops with their arms reversed in slow march opened the scene. Then followed about 120 ladies of the highest class, dressed alike in the deepest mourning, their heads covered with thick black veils, and each holding a large wax lighted candle, which served also as a walking-stick. They were apparently *dames d'honneur* to the figure of

the Virgin Mary, as large as life, which appeared immediately after them on a platform studded with lighted candles, and carried by chosen individuals, dressed like the ladies in deepest mourning, with white kid gloves and a fine beautifully worked cambric pocket handkerchief. A company of soldiers formed a *corps de garde* around it, followed by a band of music, the loud and lively air of which made a curious contrast to the religious silence of the actors and spectators, and to the distant roll of the muffled drums. The next part of the procession was some 150 to 200 men dressed in long clear white robes, which it would be difficult to describe as like anything but a lady's night-dress. A white handkerchief, flattened on the top and hanging behind the head, and white gloves, completed the costume, and made it impossible to say at first sight whether the wearers were male or female.

This epicene phalanx preceded some children intended to represent angels; their white frocks covered with flowers and tinsel ornaments, chaplets round their heads, white satin shoes, and painted pasteboard wings, giving a more satisfactory idea of an opera ballet than a heavenly choir; but, the ambiguity as to their character and profession was removed by their carrying, on plated dishes, a crown of thorns, some nails, a sponge, and the other usual emblems of the crucifixion. The next *dramatis personæ* were Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, gorgeously dressed in the oriental style, in richly brocaded garments and turbans, and accompanied by two men in similar costumes, with the addition of black masks to represent eunuch slaves. These walked immediately before a coffin containing a figure of our Saviour after his crucifixion, with the shroud and usual funeral appendages; and over them was held a black pall and

canopy, protected by a guard of soldiers and priests. A concourse of females, dressed in white veils, then followed, and an indiscriminate crowd brought up the rear; the procession passed several times during the day through the principal streets, and visited all the churches; but the general effect was best in the dusk of the evening, when the mass of lighted candles and torches threw their glare on the white and black dresses, and nothing was heard in the intense silence of the people save the chaunting, music, and beat of the drums. There were many other ceremonies, such as the seven stations, &c., but all of the same character as the preceding.

It was about mid-day on the Saturday, when a general clatter, ringing of bells, and slamming of doors and windows, broke suddenly on one's ears. Imagining it might be merely a slight earthquake I went to the window, and found every one making as much noise as his ingenuity could devise, or his means effect. The workmen employed in building a palace opposite had ceased stone-cutting and plastering for a general tattoo of chisels, hammers, and trowels; every bell in the seventeen churches seemed to have a fit of palsy, every stick or implement happening to be in the hand of man was rat-tat-tat-ing with furious energy against the pavement, shutters, or any thing which would produce a clatter; the youngsters were letting off crackers and shaking their holy play-things—the bones of Judas,—with orthodox violence; and a noisy epidemic seemed in fact to have seized the whole population. This general uproar was to celebrate the resurrection of our Saviour—the precise moment of which was ascertained by the elevation of the Host in the High Mass in the cathedral; and it reminded me of the similar custom among the Greeks, but who, in addition to all this hubbub, commence slaying a lamb

outside their doors. A Pontifical Mass on the Sunday was performed by the archbishop, with the usual pomp and importance, accompanied with an Indulgentia for a very lengthened term—a benefit apparently much appreciated by the people, by the mode in which it was received.

Any one who has witnessed the deeply impressive and thrilling scene of the Pope's benediction on Easter Sunday at Rome, when, from the windows of St. Peter's he bestows his blessing, "Urbi et Orbi," to the thousands on their knees in the Piazza beneath him, could not but smile at a Sassarese Pontifical Mass. It would not, however, be the sneer of ridicule, for throughout the whole of the week's ceremonies there was an extreme order and seriousness, with appearance of belief in all that was said and done, which would have shamed many a Roman Catholic city, where hypocrisy, infidelity, and mockery prevail in the more magnificent celebration of such Feste.

The ceremony on the following day was very different, being a mass and Te Deum, to commemorate the victory gained by the Sardes over the French in their attack on the island in 1792. Having accepted an invitation from the governor, I attended his levee, at which all the civil, military, ecclesiastical, and university authorities were present in full uniform. After an exhibition of endless form, etiquette and precedence, very fatiguing, had it not been very amusing, we proceeded to the cathedral, which was decorated with tapestry, garlands, illuminations, and everything significative of joy and triumph. The military force stationed at the door, fired *feux de joie* from time to time; but which not being at the precise moment intended by the ecclesiastical force inside, evidently disconcerted them in

their tactics at the altar. The united perfumes of incense and gunpowder gave as new an idea of the odor of sanctity as the whole ceremony did of peace on earth and good will towards man, for it savoured as much of malevolence and bombast as of forgiveness of injuries and thankfulness for victory. As a subject of importance, if the Sassaresi had conquered the whole of France, they could not have celebrated the event with greater pride; and as one of policy it would be well if the government were to suppress the ceremony, for the oblivion of enmity is more necessary to the Sarde bosom than encouragement of patriotism.

The Festa of the Vergine dei Sette Dolori was an opportunity of seeing the costumes of the district, as the peasants came in from all parts in their best attire to do penance before a figure of the Virgin with the seven daggers in her heart. It seems that this ceremony is peculiarly dear to females; and the figure of the Virgin Mary is consigned to the care of, and dressed by, a certain number of ladies belonging to the aristocracy for the space of one year; at the expiration of which period lots are drawn, and the names of the noble guardians for the ensuing year are read from the high altar with a benediction on those whose charge has just terminated. The females of the upper classes appeared on this occasion in mourning, and made a strong contrast with the gay dresses of the peasantry. The prevailing fashion was a short bodice of bright coloured cloth, laced up before and behind, fitting tightly to the waist, and just high enough to support the bosom. A loose red jacket, with trimmings, edgings, and lacings, silver buttons and cords, and half way open down the arm, an extremely full petticoat of yellow or some other colour, in contradistinction to the jacket and bodice,

and finally, a white kerchief thrown lightly over the head, completed the costume.

One of the Easter customs is the peregrination of the Viandanti dressed in embroidered yellow leather waistcoats and aprons, with large cloaks and hats, a costume evidently of Spanish origin. They collect fruit, bread, and other provisions, and carry them in large baskets to the prisoners in confinement at this period.

The ecclesiastical buildings of the town consist of eleven churches, besides those belonging to the monasteries, six confraternita, nine monasteries, and three convents. The number of the priesthood has been calculated at 400, which, with 265 members of the nine monasteries, and 104 in the three convents, gives a total of 769 clerical persons, or one in thirty-two and a half individuals of the community. The cathedral was founded in 1434; and from additions and alterations which have taken place at subsequent periods, some parts are much ornamented, others exceedingly plain, and many of a mixed character. The high altar and railing of various colored jaspers, a minor altar made of different marbles from the Macomer district, and the fresco paintings in the dome and east end, brighten up the generally cold appearance of the interior. In the north transept is a monument to Giuseppe, Conte de Maurienne, son of Vittorio Amadeo III., who died here during his vice-regency of the island in 1802. He is represented as accompanied by two figures, Faith and Sardinia, neither of which have a clerical or classical air, and the workmanship is no less rude than the allegory. The archbishopric was transferred from Porto Torres to Sassari in 1441; and according to tradition, St. Clement was bishop of the diocese in the second century. The archiepiscopal palace is a curious

old building, and has undergone many changes since its foundation in 1278.

The church of the Jesuits, though it has been but a few years under the care of its present possessors, is the best arranged in Sassari, and, by its rapid advancement, will doubtless, in a few years, be ornamented and enriched with all the sumptuous decorations and objects of value which so peculiarly characterise their churches in every country; but as it was Lent, and the walls were covered with black drapery, there was no exhibition of that seductive pomp and ceremony which form such advantageous weapons for their pride and policy. The church of St. Maria is handsome in its exterior, and very effective from its interior walls being painted to represent marble, with imitation scagliola columns. There is a good picture attributed to Caracci, but it is more probably of the Alonzo Cano school.

The Capucin monastery, admirably situated on a hill to the S.E. of the town, and overhanging a valley of olive and orange trees, has a chapel rich in altars and carved wood; and the whole establishment shews the comfort and competency of the inmates, to whom praise must be given for maintaining a small dispensary, from which they supply the poor with medicines. In their shelf of medical books were scarcely any of a later date than 1700, and they seemed to belong as much to alchemy and charms as to chemistry and medicine. The monastery of St. Pietro, belonging to the Zocolanti order, is a wealthier institution than that of the Capucins; but its members do nothing really serviceable to merit the alms and charity on which they depend. The Claustrali monastery is an immense establishment, with every comfort and even luxury which the brethren can desire, each having a separate maintenance and allot-

ment—down to his own peculiar orange-tree in their gardens.

The University was founded in 1634 by Filippo IV., and its contents but ill correspond with the extensive exterior. A small collection of Roman bassi relievi, sarcophagi, terra cotta articles, medals, and bronze ornaments, together with some good and interesting Phœnician and Egyptian relics, are mixed up in the greatest confusion with meagre specimens of mineralogy and conchology, presenting the appearance of a broker's shop rather than a museum of antiquities, which the inscription over the door induces a stranger to believe is contained within the threshold; but which, if properly attended to, might soon become a valuable collection. A few chemical and mathematical instruments of the simplest description shewed the advance and extent of those sciences, no less than their condition proved the little use that seemed to be made of them. The library consists of about 6000 volumes, of which a small portion was given by Vittorio Amadeo, and others were obtained from the Jesuits on their expulsion in 1773, when they carried away those of any value, and left a mass of ecclesiastical works, which now form five-eighths of the whole collection. But very few additions have been made since that period; and on applying in vain for several well-known works, such as would be found in the libraries of every foreign town containing a quarter of the population of Sassari, their non-existence was accounted for by a deficiency of funds, the rigid prohibition of the censor, and the abstraction of several to Turin. The manuscripts of Azuni are considered valuable, not only for their intrinsic merits, but as a matter of boast to the city, the author having been born there in 1749, and having bequeathed them to the university

at his death ; but the pride with which his fellow-citizens mention them is far greater than the care taken of them. Among his various published works, the "*Dizionario ragionato della giurisprudenza mercantile*," published at Nice in 1786, first brought him into notice as a writer on that subject ; but his celebrity arises from his "*Sistema Universale dei principii del diritto marittimo di Europa*," published at Florence in 1795, which passed through several editions, and was translated into French in 1798 and 1805, and into English at Philadelphia in 1809. He rose by his abilities into high offices in Piedmont ; in 1800 he was appointed by Napoleon one of the Commissioners to inquire into and frame the maritime code of France ; in 1805 he was created president of the court of appeal at Genoa ; and, after a variety of changes of fortune, was again employed by the Piedmontese government till his death in 1827.

The University is so similar in its constitution and arrangement to that of Cagliari, that a description of the latter on another occasion will suffice ; but the mode of examination and the conferring a degree may be here mentioned, having had an opportunity of witnessing the ceremony. It took place in a large room of the college, at the bottom of which was a throne ; on one side a rostrum, in which stood the candidate, beneath him the professors, and opposite sat a formidable array of the doctors and authorities of the University. Being admitted into their conclave, a little pamphlet was given me, the cover of which was as gaudy as silver and coloured stamped paper could make it ; and notwithstanding such a fantastical exterior, its contents were abstruse questions in law and theology, in which the candidate was to be examined. They consisted of

thirty theses, or points of argument, from the Pandects; 10 "De Constitutionibus Principum," 10 "Ad legem Rhodiam de Jactu;" and 10 "Mandati vel contra." A similar number in theology were selected from the Decretals of Gregory IX.; 10, "De conciliis et speciatim de conciliis generalibus;" 10, "De beneficiis commendatis;" 10, "De spreto cultu Sanctorum et Sacramentorum." The examination, which was in Latin, and carried on with great volubility, amounted to merely a mutual exposition of thoughts of the examiner and candidate, and it was hard to say which seemed most anxious to display his learning. The tinkling of a little bell every half hour was a notice to change the subject of examination; and had it not been for this welcome and timely respite, a Sassarese subscription to dogmas on the infallibility of General Councils, the nomination to benefices, the worship of Saints and Sacraments, the Constitution of Princes, the Rhodian law of salvage and of contracts, might perhaps have never ceased. This controversy, or rather conversation, being finished, the candidate having a red hood placed on him, was led up by a professor of law to the archbishop, who, after administering the oath of allegiance, conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Law. He was then taken to a portrait of the king, to which he bowed with most loyal humility; and proceeding from thence to the living conclave he kissed each of the members in succession. As soon as this tender operation was over, he was formally installed as a Don, and the moment of this metamorphose was evinced by a storm of congratulatory stanzas, odes, sonnets, and epigrams, proceeding from a dense cloud of friends who had been awaiting the result of the examination. In common with the rest of the conclave, I was thoroughly wetted

by this shower of Pierian rain which came down in floods of friendship, flattery, and flummery in Latin, Italian, and in every species of metre, most of them ridiculously sublime, and sublimely ridiculous. A few further *formulae* having been gone through, the assembly broke up; and the young D. C. L. was immediately seized by his friends and nearly devoured by their kissing; and if the merit of his examination could be tested by the quantity and quality of those salutations, it would be impossible to overrate his law and theology. No opinion need be ventured on the learning and talents which may have been displayed by those who took part in the examination, or on the selection of the subjects; but the University prides itself on its legal attainments and character, and on that point is said to hold a high rank among those of Italy. Olives, the Commentator on the *Carta de Logu*; Vico, the compiler of the *Pragmaticas*; Azuni, previously mentioned, and other lawyers, who have gained a continental reputation, were indebted to Sassari for their education.

Another opportunity of seeing the University forms occurred in attending a convocation of the authorities for the purpose of thanking his Majesty for his late boon in having raised the salary of the Professors to the same amount as that enjoyed by those in the University of Cagliari. The additional revenue of 7340 lire nove or 293*l.* 12*s.*, though a great advantage even when subdivided among the many participators, was but of slight importance in comparison to the gratification of the invidious feeling unfortunately existing between the Universities.

The establishment of Cagliari receives an annual salary of nearly 1300*l.*, while that of Sassari amounts to only 20,404 lire nove 80 cts. or 816*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*, a difference

arising from the small number of professorships, as well as inferior payment to the officers of the establishment. This equalisation of their salaries drew forth an oration, in which the munificence of the king was only to be equalled by his just appreciation of the talents, learning, and glories of the University, every fifth word seemed to be a laudatory epithet in the superlative degree, an "issimo" which exalted themselves or their sovereign, and generally both at the expense of the rival University. The number of students in 1842 was 294; in the other departments of education there were about 150 pupils, from three to five years old, in the Normal schools, and about 700, from fourteen to sixteen, in the *Latinità* and *Lettere Umane* Schools, making a total of about 1150 in the whole population.

The castle of Sassari is an interesting memorial of the history of the town, the Aragon Arms, and the Tower of the Inquisition, being a record of the political and religious miseries which the walls have witnessed since their foundation in 1380. It was repaired and fortified in 1503, and commands a fine view from the Tower, which is 220 mètres 12 ctm, or 1721 feet 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches above the level of the sea. The fountain of Rosello, deservedly an object of pride to the Sassarese, is situated at the bottom of a gorge on the east side of the town. It is a parallelogram, the greatest sides being about 20 feet, the lesser about 12, and its height about 16; at the angles are large figures of the four seasons, at the feet of which the stream issues forth in copious volume, as well as from eight lions' mouths, in the sides of the building; and the arms of Aragon and Logudoro are on the summit, with an inscription, mentioning its repair in 1605. The whole is of white marble, and, as an architectural design, few cities can

boast of a handsomer fountain. The water supplies the greater part of the town, and is fetched in small barrels on donkeys, as miserable and dirty as their drivers ; a system not only expensive but inconvenient, as the chances are, that on entering any house in Sassari, the door and passage are blocked up by a man, a beast, and barrel. Sassari has the character of being healthy, and the general appearance of the people confirms the statement. The deaths are calculated at $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent ; and longevity is in a greater ratio than in almost any part of the island. House rent is dear in comparison to provisions, and even they are at a much higher price than in the adjacent district, where wine is sold at 1 soldo, or nearly 1*d.* per bottle ; a large fowl at $1\frac{1}{2}$ real, or 7*d.* ; oranges, 15 centessimi, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per dozen. One of my friends, an officer in a regiment quartered at Sassari, arranged with a Trattista to supply him with dinner and supper, the former consisting of seven dishes, and the latter of four, with bread and wine *ad libitum*, for 47 reals, or 18*s.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per month.

It was at Sassari that the double infants, Ritta-Christina were born, in 1829, whose exhibition excited so much curiosity in the anatomical and medical world, at that period. Some of Valery's observations, abridged from a memoir on the subject, read to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, will explain this *lusus naturæ*. Ritta-Christina was a double being as far as the waist, but single below, so that her one pair of legs for two heads and four arms rendered motion difficult. Pain or pleasure were participated by the two sisters ; their organs of nutrition and secretion were common ; one of the two hearts was placed on the right, and one of the livers on the left side ; action was independent of the double will of their brains, and sleep was almost simul-

taneous. The two children were a strong contrast to each other. Christina on the left side, was much stronger than Ritta on the right, had more appetite, and her expression was more lively and animated; that of Ritta was melancholy, full of suffering, and of a blueish tint. Christina lived for a short time after the death of her sister—a Mezentian fate—and died before attaining the ninth month of her extraordinary existence. The wretched parents, who were artizans, returned to Sassari poorer than when they started on their miserable speculation of exhibiting their unnatural offspring.

The environs of the town abound in country houses, pleasure grounds, and gardens, some of which are beautifully situated, and shew by their produce how benignantly nature has smiled on the district. One of my friends had in his garden a myrtle, the stem of which was fifty-six inches in circumference, at some height from the ground, and the branches extending twenty-six feet in diameter rested on the surrounding orange trees. The valley of Logulentu is remarkable for its fertility, as well as beauty. Throughout the whole of the island I did not see a garden more ingeniously laid out, or more carefully attended to, than one belonging to a friend whose hospitality I enjoyed; the fruit trees were in full blossom, and the almond, cherry, orange, and pomegranate lighted up the dark foliage, over which the Roman pine and palm reigned majestically. One of his orange trees, though not very large, bears annually on an average 4500 fruit; and last year, a bet having been made that there were not so many on it, they were counted and found to amount to upwards of 4600. Two species of rose were remarkable—one called *Microsella*, with a flower like the horse-chestnut, and the peculiarity of the other (without a name) was, one stem and

flower growing out of the other, similar to the growth of the cactus. The olive groves around Sassari are well attended to, and the oil produced there being better, bears a much higher premium than that produced in other parts of the island. According to Von Arnim, the annual export from this district only is said to be 120,000 barrels, each barrel weighing about eighty-eight pounds, and the total quantity exported in 1841, was 212,897 kilograms, or about 209 $\frac{3}{4}$ tons.

The cultivation of tobacco is making a rapid advance. It owes its introduction to the Austrians, in 1710, and their constituting it a royal monopoly, in 1716, caused the Sardes to rebel, and join the Spanish party. The insurrection was quelled, and the tax then established has continued to the present day; but the Piedmontese government, by mismanagement and tampering with the Cagliariitani and Sassarese in their respective claims to an exclusive manufacture, has not availed itself of the advantages it might have obtained. A few years since, the Cagliariitani were the successful applicants, and the tobacco grown in the Capo di Sassari was obliged to be sent to Cagliari, from whence, when manufactured, it was returned for sale. In 1842 the Sassarese petitioned the government, and sent specimens grown in their district, which were so superior to those of the Cagliari province, that permission was granted to manufacture it; and this concession, though tardy, has already given an impetus to the planters, a profit to the government, and contentment to the Sassarese. A proof of the injudicious and pitiable policy of the royal restrictions is, that, in 1842, 3000 cantars, or 125 tons of tobacco were grown on 614 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, by 143 individuals; and in the following year the quantity in growth promised 4000 cantars, or about 167 tons on

1291 starelli of land, or about 1272 acres cultivated by 222 persons. The total quantity grown throughout the whole of the island, and the consequent revenue to the government, are so differently reported that it is impossible to give even a proximate estimate; but M'Culloch's statement, that this royal monopoly "brings about seven million livres a year into the public treasury," is far above the other estimates which I obtained.

The Gabelotto, or royal licence for selling the manufactured tobacco, is generally given as a privilege or annuity, especially to widows whose husbands have died in government service. The party receiving it deducts ten per cent. for his profit, but he cannot sell the tobacco at a higher price than that fixed by the government, and of which there is a tariff in every Gabelotto. The best cigars cost five lire nove per 100, about 4s. ; and the best tobacco, the "Manocos," four lire nove, eighty cents per lb. Sarde, which would be about 3s. 10d. per lb. English. There are several other qualities and prices, the lowest of which is about 1s. 3d. per lb. English. But little is exported, though it is highly prized by foreigners, the excessive duty on its introduction even into the continental states of the King of Sardinia, amounting to almost a prohibition. The habit of smoking is very general, but that of snuff-taking almost universal, and many ladies of the noblesse, if not avowedly carrying her own tabacchiera, will never refuse a pinch from another's box.

Before we leave Sassari, where we have had occasion to speak of the church ceremonies and the priesthood, we may add a few general remarks on the ecclesiastical establishment of the island.

The Roman Catholic, the only form of religion

allowed, is maintained with the same severity and intolerance as in the continental dominions of the King of Sardinia, with the additional disadvantage of being based on greater ignorance and superstition. So much is dependent on tradition, that no certain information can be obtained as to the period of the introduction of christianity ; but some of the Sarde historians even assert that a Boniface, a disciple of our Saviour, was the first who disseminated the gospel ;* that St. Paul and St. James visited the island in their journeys ; and that the Christian faith, after its establishment in the first century, was immediately sealed by a series of saints and martyrs in the cause.

The first evidence of an episcopal establishment is the mention of a Bishop of Cagliari at the Council of Arles in 314 ; and we have already mentioned the early interference of the papal see in ecclesiastical matters, and its endeavors to suppress the idolatrous practices of the natives. The church thus established gradually obtained a political as well as spiritual power, and during the existence of the Giudici took no less important a part in the government than subsequently under the Aragon dominion, when, as the *Stamento Ecclesiastico* in the general Cortes, it was coequal with the other *Stamenti*. The subsequent periods abound in pretensions of the popes, dissensions between the dignitaries of the church, the institution and abolition of dioceses,

* “ Vitale, whose clerical assumptions are no less amusing than his classical ignorance, thus speaks of the visit of St. James in connection with the word *Sandaliotis*—the ancient Greek name of the island :—“ *Viso Jacobi in Hispanias adventu, operæ pretium est, in Sardiniam videre præventum. Advenit quippe nos prius quam vos, Hispani, Sardinia nonne Sandaliotis, Apostolorum crepida sacra, Sandalium ? Æquum hinc Jacobum Sandalio istoc ad Hispanias calceari.*”—*Anal. Sard.* anno 37, vol. ii.

and points of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. The establishment at present consists of three archbishoprics : namely, Cagliari, Sassari, and Oristano ; and eight bishoprics, Galtelli, Iglesias, Ogliastro, Alghero, Ampurias, Bosa, Bisarcio, and Ales. The archbishops of Cagliari and Sassari both take the title of Primate of Corsica and Sardinia, though the former has precedence in the Ecclesiastical Stamento. The number of dignitaries of the church, as they are termed, is 509 ; 1851 of the second order of clergy ; and the vicars (equivalent in their office to the English curate) with the rest of the priesthood have been estimated at more than 700 ; giving a total of about 3100. The island has been divided into 393 parishes, the number of churches in each of which is not stated, but few villages have less than two or three, besides many in the immediate district belonging to the communes where only occasional duty is performed. The entire number, including the monasteries, oratorios, and other institutions, has been calculated at upwards of 2000, which, in a population of 524,000, gives a church to about every 262 individuals. The incredible number of masses daily offered up reminds one of the expression of the Archduke Leopold to Ricci :—" Sono molti altari, dunque ci vogliono molte messe ; ci sono molte messe, dunque ci vogliono molti preti ; ci sono molti preti, dunque ci vogliono molti altari."—" There are many altars, therefore there must be many masses ; there are many masses, therefore there must be many priests ; there are many priests, therefore there must be many altars."

The non-residence of the rectors or curates is of too frequent occurrence, as they prefer living in a town ; and their absence, independently of the disadvantages

to the people, entails many expenses on the vicar, who only receives one-fourth of the value of the living ; a pittance scarcely even sufficient to maintain a respectable appearance, still less to exercise the hospitality expected at their hands, or meet the demands on their charity, so that the means to enable them to do so are frequently derived from other sources of the *piæ fraudes* nature toward their rector and parishioners. Hence it is that the clergy inhabiting the towns are numerous, comparatively rich, and positively indolent ; while those in the country are extremely poor, and being obliged to have recourse to other employment to obtain their miserable livelihood, neglect their clerical duties. They are educated either at the universities of Cagliari and Sassari, or the Ginnasio and Tridentine schools in the other parts of the island, and the former have such advantages in their revenues, as well as resources, that the pupils educated at the latter are considered quite a secondary class.

Their education is confined to a small portion of the Latin and Italian languages, a course of theology not extending beyond the reading of the church services, and the simplest routine of matters connected with them ; anything beyond these requisites being an optional pursuit and attainment ; but all research and examination into the truths and falsehood of their faith, are forbidden, for its dogmas must be received as incontrovertible axioms. Scarcely any means are afforded for obtaining information on other subjects, so that on a priest assuming his position in a village, he is but little qualified to undertake the other duties devolving on him in his educational, political, as well as clerical, character ; such as the superintendence of the schools, the Monte di Soccorso, the sitting in the assembly of the communes,

and similar offices. His incapacity of giving instruction to his parishioners, is proved by the state of superstition, prejudice, and the ridiculous practices still allowed to exist ; he being as unable to give, as they are to receive, any enlightenment by an appeal to truth and sense, or by the simplest explanation of common physical phenomena ; and in the few instances where he may have been led to see his own ignorance and errors, he is averse to removing those of his parishioners, as such a step would tend to diminish his influence, and release them from their blind thralldom. But these faults and misfortunes, arising from external circumstances rather than nature, are counterbalanced by their prominent virtues, benevolence, kindness, charity, and hospitality ; and if there is no cause for admiration of their intellectual character, there is much for pity and sorrow at their perverted education.

The aristocracy furnishes but few members to the ecclesiastical profession, and leaves it to the inferior nobility and other classes, as the only career open for their advancement and subsistence without trouble or humiliation ; hence the greater part of the Sarde families possessed of competence, are principally indebted for it to the past or present emoluments of their clerical connections, and the priesthood, as a body, forms the wealthiest class in the island.

The mode of collection and partition of tithes, varies according to localities, and other circumstances. In raw produce, cattle, grain, fruit, honey, &c., taken in kind, they must be paid by the proprietor before he can receive any benefit from his stock or crop ; and he, in almost all cases, is subjected to the expenses of the gathering and the transport ; but flax, and many other articles, are not paid till they have been thoroughly

prepared for use; in wine, the tithe-receiver gathers his own proportion of grapes, and milk and cheese are compounded for in many districts by as much milk as the flocks and herds will give during ten days in the month of July. The tithes are generally farmed, and the payment now enforced with much greater severity and extortion, than when levied by the barons under the old feudal system; but the new compulsory payment in specie instead of in kind, which was the general practice, has not only produced fresh evils, and continual disturbances of the public and private peace, but such additional exactions, that instead of a tenth, one-fifth of all produce, profit, and income, is calculated to be swallowed up by the church establishment.

In the middle of the seventeenth century the revenues of the dioceses from their property were estimated at about 30,402*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1841 at about 66,025*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*, out of which the dioceses pay, in respective proportions, about 3,129*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* to the government as state subsidies for the national debt, and the maintenance of roads, bridges, and conveyance of the post.

The nominal amount of tithes, independent of the revenue arising from the possessions of the church, has been estimated by an ecclesiastical return at about 1,500,000 lire nove, or 60,000*l.*; but this, like the revenues of the dioceses, is, according to some statements in which concealment is less necessary, much below the actual sum paid, and is stated to be nearly one million lire more, exclusive of voluntary contributions, alms, offerings, payments of vows, collections for Feste, Saints, &c.

Sardinia boasts of having been the birthplace of two popes,—St. Hilarius, who lived in 467, and St. Sym-

machus, in 498 ; and the Ecclesiastical Calendar presents a wonderful catalogue of saints and martyrs, with holidays in their honor ; but while in other Roman Catholic countries, numberless feste of the secondary class have been abolished, they are here kept up with much attention, and are no less causes than excuses for the general idleness of the people. Most of the monasteries and convents are extensive and well kept, the endowments and contributions being sufficient to afford all requisite comforts to the inmates, whose receipts are, with few exceptions, an hundred-fold in comparison to their gifts, and who repay the obligation by increasing general ignorance and idleness through their own prejudices and example. Scarcely any of the establishments possess a library ; and the few books which exist are merely works on divinity and ecclesiastical jurisprudence, of little use now in the nineteenth century, even to the Roman Catholic religion.

According to the Sarde ecclesiastical history, many Eremites and Anchorites existed in the third century, but the earliest institution of Monachism is dated at the beginning of the sixth, toward the end of which it appears to have been thoroughly established. After attaining its fullest vigor under the Pisan dominion, a considerable number of the monasteries were dissolved by the Aragonese government, and the members, the greater part of whom were of Pisan extraction, on their expulsion took with them to Italy their accumulated wealth and the records of their sojourn in the island.

Martini, in his "*Storia Ecclesiastica di Sardegna*,"* gives an account of twenty-six different orders of monks in 199 monasteries, and four orders of nuns possessing sixteen convents, besides many others having no definite

* Appendix, p. 413.

records. But Carlo Emanuele originated many reforms in these establishments, and in 1760 reduced their number to 117, with 2198 monks. The returns in 1841 give ninety-one monasteries with 1093 regular monks, and sixteen convents with 260 nuns; to the former may be added about 300 lay brethren, making a total of 1653; but this is acknowledged to be less than the actual amount, now estimated at upwards of 2000. If to these be added the 3100 ecclesiastics of all denominations, and about 1000 persons holding subordinate offices and connected with the cathedrals, churches, and religious establishments, there will be, together with 150 Jesuits, a total of 6250 individuals in a population of 524,000, or nearly one in eighty-four, directly and indirectly supported by public religion and private charity. It may incidentally be mentioned, by way of comparison in the machinery of the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Greek forms of religion, that the proportion of ecclesiastics in England and Wales (exclusive of those holding the low subordinate offices) is not quite one in every 778; in Russia, about one in 376; and in Prussia, where the Roman Catholic population has been estimated at five millions, it is one in every 566 $\frac{1}{2}$ persons.

Former monarchs on the throne of Sardinia have succeeded in reducing the superfluous number of priests and monks without incurring a sentence of excommunication—without feeling any disadvantage even when it has been pronounced, and have successfully resisted the Papal interference in ecclesiastical arrangements, as did Vittorio Amadeo, Duke of Savoy, that of Clement XI. in 1715. It is evident, therefore, that Carlo Alberto, if so inclined, might follow the example of his ancestors as well as of other potentates, without detri-

ment. Joseph II. of Austria bade defiance to the thunders of the Vatican when he suppressed 1300 monasteries; and Spain, within the last few years, with equal impunity eradicated them from her soil.

The Jesuits were first introduced into the island by the Spanish government, in the year 1551, and having established themselves in all the principal towns, gradually obtained the chief educational appointments, such as in the Collegio dei Nobili, founded by Francesco Desquivel, archbishop of Cagliari, in 1614, and in the Collegio Canopolo, at Sassari, a college founded by Antonio Canopolo, bishop of Oristano, in 1611. At their suppression by a bull of Clement XIV. in 1775, under Vittorio Amadeo III., their revenue amounted to 5,382*l.* sterling, arising from a property valued at about 107,520*l.* sterling, and their employment produced an additional income of about 4,129*l.* sterling. The order was restored by Carlo Felice in 1822, and they have now three establishments at Cagliari, two at Sassari, and ramifications in the minor towns. Their principal college at the former city was endowed in 1824 with an income of about 768*l.* sterling, arising from lands and property settled on them; and that at Sassari in 1826, with a revenue of about 517*l.* sterling; but, according to another account, the Cagliari College has a further endowment of 1,350*l.* sterling per annum, and Sassari of 384*l.*, and these revenues are increased from various other sources. In 1835 the present king placed the Jesuits at the head of other seminaries and colleges, as well as those for the education of the priesthood.

The total number of the order, though not published, has been estimated at 150, and to the personal favor of Carlo Alberto they are indebted for their increase, power, and influence.

The Inquisition was first established by the Spanish government at Sassari, and subsequently at Cagliari; and the ecclesiastical history of the island mentions the disputes of the delegates of that institution with the Sarde church, and the horrors and barbarities of the arch-fiend Torquemada. These torments are now abolished, but the church has retained and exercised its right of punishing heretics. Consequent on the Inquisition was the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, who were obliged to leave the island in four months, under penalty of death, and confiscation of all their property; and among the archives at Cagliari is an ordinance of the viceroy, dated 31st March, 1492, commanding the doors of their synagogues to be sealed up, an inventory of their goods to be made, and that the demands of their creditors presented within fifteen days, should within thirty be fully satisfied.

There is a close connection between the church and state in pecuniary as well as religious matters, for, besides the contribution of the dioceses previously mentioned, a compact exists between the king and the pope, dated in 1807, and another in 1823, by which all the revenues of ecclesiastical benefices as they fall vacant, including bishoprics, should for two years be paid into the Monte di Riscatto, an institution designed for the liquidation of the state debts; but as the benefice, or cure, by remaining vacant for two years, might be injurious to the interests of the church, an immediate appointment is made, permitting the nominated incumbent to pay to the Monte di Riscatto, within a term of four and six years, the amount of the revenue during two years' vacancies.

By a papal bull dated 1828, a sale of indulgences, under the name of Santa Crociata, was granted for the

release of souls from purgatory, the period depending on the price ; and the proceeds were to be applied to the maintenance of a marine force for the combined defence against smuggling and hostile invasion, for forcing the " *reggenze barbaresche* " to a fulfilment of their treaties, and for the formation and support of *Campi Santi*. A certain portion of these holy funds was applied to the first-mentioned objects ; but the latter was so little benefited, that separate laws were enacted for their support in 1880 and '81.

This ecclesiastical support of custom-houses, gun-boats, and cemeteries, might be considered by some as no favorable commentary on the Savoy dynasty ; but it will form a valuable addition to the well known tract in Italy, entitled " *Raccolto di orazioni, e pie opere per le quali sono stato concesse dai Sommi Pontefici le S. Indulgenze,*" printed at Rome, and dedicated to the " *Sante Anime del purgatorio.*"

The right of sanctuary, though much restricted by agreements between the courts of Turin and Rome, is permitted under certain regulations, the altar still being a refuge for those whose crimes incur a penalty of less than two years' imprisonment, though for all others the civil authority can demand a surrender from the ecclesiastical, and use compulsion in case of refusal. Deserters have been deprived of the privilege, and if, after a lapse of three days, they do not voluntarily present themselves at head-quarters, a formal demand is made to the priest, and they are then taken by force from the sanctuary.

The ecclesiastical establishment, from the preceding sketch, may be easily supposed to be no less powerful than numerous, and a weapon as important for, as against, the people. The priests, small as is their

knowledge, are looked up to with a superstitious fear and reverence ; for their public character acquires for them an interference and influence at the hearth of the cottage, as unlimited as their authority at the altar of the church. This is not, however, obtained by attention to the education or relief of the necessities of the people ; but, by the intimate knowledge of all that passes in the interior of families, extracted by confessions, absolutions, and close union with them in worldly pursuits ; and by this amalgamation of conscience and interests, the church exercises a spiritual and temporal thralldom, servilely submitted to by the ignorant, but loudly deprecated by the enlightened portion of the Sardes. In a conversation with a priest, in whose house I was staying, relative to the state of morals in his parish, and the influence he might have in the suppression of vendetta, and reconciliation of the fuorusciti, he referred to a manuscript statistical table, containing the names of his parishioners, with columns, lines, divisions, annotations, and references. It was a mass of inquisitorial information, relative to their sins of omission and commission ; and the marks attached to those who had, and had not been at confession and sacrament, gave him, he assured me, a surveillance which enabled him to use their transgressions and mental bondage to his own advantage, as occasion might require ; independently of it being a duty prescribed by the ecclesiastical authorities, to whom he made the return, and by whom it is subsequently transmitted to the government. Thus is link added to link in the one grand chain which binds the most private thoughts and deeds of each family and its component members for or against each other ; forming thereby a vast engine of domestic oppression and political centralisation.

In this latter point the king and clergy are in union, for were he to diminish their spiritual and numerical force, a freedom of thought might arise dangerous to, if not subversive of, their joint power. In some respects they are, however, opposed to each other. The parish priests are so involved in the private affairs of the people, that the concealment of petty offences, absenteeism from the village, pretended ignorance of fuorusciti, evasion of taxes, and other infringements of the laws, are frequently more conducive to their own profits and interest, than any co-operation in the measures and demands of the government.

The other point is their opposition to the Jesuits, who, protected and patronised by the king, and elevated, on account of their superior learning, to the principal and most lucrative appointments, have monopolised a large share of the clerical influence and revenues.

The King of the Jesuits, as Carlo Alberto has been called, has no easy task to balance the assumptions against the grievances of the ecclesiastical factions; for in attempting to resist the former, and remedy the latter, he is as fearful of offending those all-powerful guardians of his soul and conscience, as of allowing his clerical instruments to escape from that state of ignorance by which he not only keeps them, but through them, the people, in their present subjection.

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Sassari.—Route to Nulvi.—Church.—Anglona District and Feud.—Noraghe di Alvu.—Sedini.—Character and Appearance of the People.—Castel Sardo.—Description.—Festa di Maggio.—Churches.—Bulzi.—Wretchedness.—Employments.—Ruins.—Customs.—Sas is spungas and Fowl Remedy.—The Coghinas River.—Trout.—Want of Bridges.—Ferry.—Loss of Life.—Arrival at Tempio.—Hospitable Cavallante.—Shop Bed.—Province of Gallura.—History.—Gomita.—Dante.—Vendetta Anecdotes.—Insurrection and Bravery of Cilloco in 1801.—Visit of the King to Tempio.—Preparations.—The Militia.—Ceremonies.—Reception of the King.—Fêtes.—Costumes.—Dante.—Bersaglio, or Shooting Match.—Guns.—Graminatogjiu, or a Wool-plucking Coterie.—Improvisatori.—Enthusiasm in the Ballo Tondo, the National Dance.—Description of a private Graminatogjiu.—Poetry and Bon-bons.—Sarde power of Improvisation.—Specimens.—Tigellius.—Familiar Use of Latin Versification.—Tempio after the King's Departure.—Description of the City.—Cathedral.—Churches.—Vendetta.—Anecdote.—The Bishop.—Monasteries.—Anecdote.—The late Governor.—Death Warnings.—Anecdote.—Employment and Character of the Tempiese.—Foundlings.—Schools.—Civic Authorities.—Healthiness.—Limbara Mountains.—The Balestieri Tribe.—Anecdote.

I LEFT Sassari on a cold wet morning, one of the very few instances of bad weather during the whole of my excursion. Hitherto my journeys had been irregular, but the first starting and arrangements for continuous travelling were attended with some inconvenience, for baggage packing on horseback requires a little practice,

and one feels ill at ease for the first few days with a new acquaintance of guides, horses, and saddles. An additional delay arose from my cavallante being late, for which his excuse was, that he could not conceive why a Signore, travelling for his amusement, should start in the rain, especially before mass.

On leaving the town, the road towards Tempio passed through some of the rich olive groves to which we have alluded ; and the green crops of flax, hemp, and potatoes beneath the trees, promising an abundant harvest, gave a verdant aspect to the whole scene. The road soon diminished to a path, leading over an undulating and very slightly cultivated country ; the pastures in the dells, well irrigated by the mountain streamlets, were rich and luxuriant ; and the whole scenery shewed that nature had bestowed her bounties with a lavish hand, and owed nothing to the co-operation of man. The view of the Bonaria range, the village of Osilo, standing like an eagle's nest on the summit, and the descent into a gorge called La Marescalca are very picturesque ; but the approach to the village of Nulvi, over high and barren hills, has nothing interesting, though it commands a view over a plain extending several miles beneath, in a south easterly direction. In the horizon, the church of the village of Chiaramonte, the landmark of the district, stands on a lofty eminence, while the Monte Ventoso of Anglona to the north and east, with the Bonaria range to the south east, form a complete shelter to the valley. The parish collegiate church of Nulvi has an elegant octagon steeple, but is very plain in the interior ; and it was strange to see, in a small village, the well-fed clergy, in their silken robes, lounging and chaunting in their carved choir, while outside the church all was

wretchedness and misery. A dean, nine canons, and six beneficed priests form the establishment, with funds amounting to 20,000*l.*, exclusive of tithes. Valery speaks of a large and fine picture, “*un grand et beau tableau*,” of St. Pantaleone curing a paralytic, as existing in this church; but the canons assured me that it was not, nor ever had been in their possession. The Capucin convent is on the most enviable position, and its inmates are probably the most enviable race of the whole village, being comfortably provided for by their own funds and the public almsgivings. The feudal rights of the Anglona district, in which we now are, belonged to the Duchess of Gandia; and by an arrangement with the Piedmontese government, before the abolition of feudalism, it was constituted a principality, —the only one in the island. The dues paid by the communes were fixed, but cavalieri, priests, licentiatees at the universities, notaries, surgeons, apothecaries, and the flocks belonging to the church establishment were exempt from the payment, which unitedly amounted to about 670*l.* The feud, moreover, paid to the governors of Castel Sardo a salary of 214 bushels of wheat and 142 of barley.

Angius gives a catalogue of seventy-one Noraghe scattered about in this neighbourhood, in some of which bronze idols have been found; and among those I visited, the Noraghe di Alvu, situated on an eminence and overhanging one of the numberless valleys, is remarkable for its exterior, which, on the E.N.E. side, presents a rectilineal surface of twenty-three feet five inches long, and sixteen feet nine inches high; the stones averaging two feet six inches long, and one foot six inches high.

The workmanship of this part is of a much more

finished and compact character than that of the rest of the building, and has a peculiarity of construction as well as shape very rarely met with in these remains.

The diameter at the base is seventy feet, at the summit fifty-eight feet; that of the centre chamber twenty-one feet, with about nineteen feet in height.

To the east of this chamber are two others eight feet six inches in diameter at the base, and nineteen feet high, the domes of which are broken in. On the western side are three more of similar dimensions, with passages one foot high and one foot wide connecting them with each other, and passages one foot six inches wide and two feet high in conjunction with the centre chamber, but all of which are partially blocked up with loose stones. In each of these five minor chambers is a small recess in the wall, of a horseshoe or retort shape, four feet long and about the same in their greatest width.

The whole building is so dilapidated, that it was impossible to make such a plan as would convey a just idea of it.

Descending from the Noraghe di Alvu, into a plain over miles of undulating ground abounding in cork and wild olive trees, a narrow valley leads through a gorge and pass to the village of Sedini. Built on the side of a steep and well-cultivated ravine, at the bottom of which is a small stream, many of the habitations are cut out of the overhanging granite rock, and, with vines creeping over their surface, present a curious and romantic appearance. Throughout the whole village, which is of a most wretched description, and composed mostly of mud and granite, there were only two cottages which had panes of glass to their windows. The population in 1839 amounted to 1549, being half the number which existed in former days. Sedini has always borne

the character of being a rebellious and factious child toward the parent government, independently of being a victim to its own evil passions. The conflicts of the Sedinise with the Piedmontese troops, gens d'armes, and other authorities, are still the subject of past glory to them. Several years since two pieces of cannon were brought to the heights opposite the village; but their fire not having the effect of bringing it into subjection, pacific measures were subsequently adopted. The constant contests with and murdering of the troops, especially in the defile through which we have just passed, the system of vendetta equally productive of bloodshed, and the libertine licence of the banditi life, have created a lawless spirit among them, quite in consonance with the wild, savage, and isolated aspect of their village. Their opposition to the government has much subsided, but vendetta is still carried on, and several ages must elapse before their rebellious blood is changed. In external appearance, their long dark hair and beards, with the sombre hue of their clothes, may at first appear confirmatory of their character of wildness and ferocity, but among friends and strangers they are mild, hospitable, and honorable.

About four hours and a half from Sedini, over a wild hilly country, on a rocky promontory stands the town of Castel Sardo, commanded by the castle from whence it takes its name. The earliest notice of the place is in 1102, about which period it was built by some of the Doria family, and by them called Castel Genovese. In 1323 it was confirmed to them by Diego II., King of Aragon, on their swearing allegiance to him; but family dissensions having broken out in 1327, it became the scene of various hostile attacks, in which the Malaspina family also joined. In the parts which the

Doria took in the subsequent wars against the Aragonese dominion, Castel Genovese was subjected to many vicissitudes ; but in 1448, after a long and severe siege from an Aragon force, it was in part demolished, and Alfonzo V. incorporating it as one of the possessions of the Crown, then changed the name of Castel Genovese to Castel Aragonese. In 1511 Charles V. extended to it similar privileges to those he had conferred on Alghero ; in 1527 it was unsuccessfully attacked by 4000 French and by Andrea Doria with a fleet of thirty galleys ; and from that period it followed the general fate of the island.

In 1767 Carlo Emanuele III. had his arms quartered with those of the town, which then received its new and present name,—Castel Sardo. The Castellanesi, ridiculously proud of their town,—a pride apparently founded on the circumstance of its having had three different names,—have now but little to boast of. The walls and bastions are irregular, and the castle itself devoid of all architectural beauty ; there is not a single handsome house, the streets are narrow, and, built on a rather steep rock, rise one above the other in great confusion. But little can be said for their cleanliness, as there are no drains, sewers, or any of the accommodations of civilised life ; and all the filth and ordure are thrown over one of the walls every evening at Ave Maria. The population, according to the census of 1837, was 2235. Though poor and simple in their mode of living, the women are said to indulge so much in dress and scandal, that the place has acquired the sobriquet of “ *il vespaio*,” the hornet’s nest. Education has done little to remove these foibles, and ten years ago there were only nine pupils in the grammar-school.

Among the many Feste is the "Maggio," in the flower season at the beginning of May, some parts of which are probably derived from the Floralia, though freed from the impurities of the Roman *Ferias*. A large and leafy oak-branch is erected and fastened before the window of some favorite damsel, selected as the heroine of the Festa; and a flag, made of pieces of embroidered silk, is suspended from an ornamented pole hanging over the street, from which some little bells are hung, so as to be moved by every breeze. On the day of the Festa, the windows of the houses near the "Maggio" are adorned with flowers, silks, colored stuffs, and carpets; and the young men, forming a procession, invite by their song and cheers the young people to the "Maggio." The lasses, who in their best costumes have been waiting for the summons, immediately join them, and proceed to bind with silk or ribands whomsoever they may meet or call upon, and playfully release them when they have contributed something towards the celebration of the Festa. The day is spent in dancing and other amusements, among which the songs in praise of the village Flora are an important part.

The little commerce carried on consists in corn, cork, and cheese, which are sent to Asinara and La Madalena. Castel Sardo is the residence of the Bishop of Ampurias and Civita, the see having been transferred here about the year 1565. The Cathedral, small and tawdry, has twelve canons, besides the other clergy attached to it. One of the other churches, that of Nostra Signora delle Grazie, annexed to the Franciscan convent, is celebrated for its miracles and relics, among which are preserved the bones of one of the fraternity, who, according to their history, had the peculiar power of obtaining favors

from heaven for his fellow-townsmen. They are however forgotten, though the bones are religiously preserved.

In the vicinity of Castel Sardo is a small miserable church, dedicated to Santa Maria di Tergu, belonging formerly to a Benedictine monastery which was pillaged and destroyed, and the monks put to death by the Saracens, who were subsequently driven out, and in commemoration of whose defeat the church was rebuilt, and endowed with certain privileges by Papal bulls, ordinances, and diplomas, in 1123, 1159, and 1188.

A rapid descent from Sedini leads into Bulzi, a twin sister village in filth, ignorance, and superstition. The hovels, infinitely worse than those of Ireland, have no windows, and a large door, serving for the common entrance and exit of bipeds, quadrupeds, air, light, and smoke, is frequently half blocked up by a rude, cumbersome weaving machine. While the men are employed in their agricultural, pastoral, or viandante duties, the wives weave the coarse cotton stuff of which their clothes are made; and if not rich enough to possess a machine, they spin the cotton, and arrange with their neighbours for the rest of the labor. This wretched place has three churches, and in the immediate neighbourhood are three others, one of which, San Pietro delle Imagini, is in great repute, and an object of much veneration. Not far from it are the ruins of the Castello di Bulzi, belonging to the Malaspina family in the 14th century, but there is now scarcely anything remaining except a few walls and a large cistern.

A superstitious belief is said to exist among the people of these districts (and to prevail also in some other parts of the island), of the miraculous power of certain bags or purses called "Sas is spungas," supposed to contain bones of saints, and other holy relics. Although

there is no account of their origin, they are so highly venerated that they consider present and eternal punishment awaits those who speak falsely when touching them. The most inveterate liar will not only feel irresistible qualms of conscience, but, if he had previously spoken falsely, will retract and confess the truth, while submitting to this infallible test. It is customary also, for those who have been defrauded, to challenge the suspected parties and compel them to swear on the "spungas"; if they do so, it is sufficient proof of their innocence, and a refusal to do it, is a no less certain evidence of guilt. Another custom should be mentioned, for the benefit of medical science. In cases of brain fever, or coup de soleil, a perfect remedy is said to be found by plucking and opening a live fowl, and fitting it as a cap to the head of the invalid, on which it is fastened with gay ribands, and left till it begins to decompose.

The path from Bulzi is through a desolate country, abounding in cork, wild olive, and pear trees, while the luxuriant growth of the asphodel and other meadow plants, betokened the marshy and undrained nature of the soil. In the undulating parts are various Noraghe, and, having passed those called La Donna Morta and San Georgio, we descended into the water sheds of the Perfugas and Coghinas rivers. The former, fordable in summer at certain spots, is famous for trout, which shewed themselves in shoals, averaging from three to four pounds weight, and selling at Tempio for about a halfpenny per pound.

The Coghinas, the Termus of Ptolemy, called also the Termo in the present day, is the most considerable river in the north of the island. It receives tributary streams from the Limbara and the Monte Acuto

ranges, from the Ozieri, Ploaghe, and Bonorva districts, and empties itself, after uniting with the Perfugas, into the sea to the east of Castel Sardo. Subject to rapid swellings and inundations from so many contributions, there is, nevertheless, no bridge over it or over any other stream in Gallura ; and though the Romans have left the remains of two, one near the junction of the Perfugas with the Coghinas, and the other near Oskeri, and the ruins of a third of more modern date, destroyed by a winter torrent, are examples of former industry and traffic, yet the Piedmontese government makes no effort to re-erect one. The passage of the river is therefore by a small horse boat,—par excellence, La Scaffa, free of toll to all Gallurese ; but these means do not prevent a very considerable annual loss of life, in attempts to ford the river at other points. Having crossed in this boat we followed the path to Tempio, through a deep valley at the commencement of the Limbara mountains, winding by the banks of a clear stream, where oak, plane, cork, olive, and other trees overshadowed a rich underwood of arbutus, cystus, myrtle, and honeysuckle. The distant ruins of Castel Doria were just visible to the north-west ; the rugged outline of the granitic Limbara overhung the lovely gorge, and occasional glimpses were caught of two immense pieces of rock at the top of the range, of so fantastical a shape, that they are not unaptly called “ Il Frate e la Monaca,” from the resemblance in the outline to a nun and monk with a Capuchin hood. From the valley the road ascends through scenery of great beauty ; but the magnificent monarchs of the forests decrease in height, the soil being apparently unfavourable to their growth. It was very late when I reached Tempio, and on my arrival found a great difficulty in procuring a

night's shelter, as the king was to arrive there the next day, and consequently not a room or even a bed could be procured. My cavallante, however, insisted on my accepting the offer of his own, and "*La mia casa é piccola, ma il cuore é grande,*" was his repeated apology for not being able to afford me a better accommodation. His love of hospitality was indeed out of all proportion to his means of exercising it ; for his house consisted of only two small rooms, one of which without any light but that of the door, served as kitchen, and general receptacle of filth and messes ; the other was his sitting-room, bed-room, store-house, counting-house, and shop for the retail sale of spirits, candles, oil, soap, and every variety of grocery, and clothing material. On the inside of the counter, which was bestrewn with a mass of heterogeneous articles in chaotic confusion, was the family bed, from whence four children and the wife's sister, were, in spite of my remonstrances, summarily ejected, to accommodate me.

The preparations for the gala of the following day brought an unusual number of customers to the shop ; nevertheless, amid the reiterated entreaties of my host, and his surprise that I should shew any hesitation, I threw myself outside the bed-clothes, and after much amusement in watching their wants and purchases, I slept till daylight brought a fresh influx of the villagers, who examined my small wardrobe and toilette with no little curiosity, and without the slightest consideration of their being the personal property of the stranger who was lying on the bed close to them.

The province of Gallura—of which Tempio is the capital, extends from the embouchure of the river Coghinas, in a south-easterly direction to the foot of Monte Acuto ; and from thence to the plain of Bitti and

mountains of Oliena ; terminating on the eastern coast at the Cala Sisina. The province is divided into two parts ; the upper contains 703 and the lower 667 square Italian miles ; and the line of division commencing at the mouth of the Coghinas, passes to the south of the Limbara range, by Montis and Monte Nieddu, and terminates in the Capo St. Anna. The position of the towns and places mentioned by Ptolemy, Strabo, and in the Itinerary of Antonine, is satisfactorily proved ; but the majority of those which existed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are not recognisable. By an interesting antiquarian and topographical document in the Archives at Cagliari, entitled "*Castella, Villæ, Sylvæ, Saltus, Terræ, et Jura totius Judicatus Galluræ*," referring to the year 1358 ; and by another, —a diploma of 1421, relating to the baronies and feudal dues of the barons and kings of Aragon, it appears that there were then 116 villages ; and contemporaneous accounts give 27 others ; but of the united number, 143, only 32 now exist throughout the whole of the province. A census, taken in 1840, makes the population of the upper division to be 21,935, about 31 to the square Italian mile ; but that of the lower division had not been finished. The derivation of the name Gallura is attributed by Fara to the Galli—Gauls, who might have sent a colony here ; an opinion adopted by Valery, for a reason in which national vanity seems to have had no little effect on his imagination ; "*on pourrait trouver quelque analogie entre la vivacité et l'esprit naturel des habitans et l'esprit Français.*" Nura, in one of his airy lucubrations, traces it to Galluri or Galuth, which he imagines to have been the name of the African and Iberian corsairs ; Landino, in his commentary on Dante's expression, "*come avria fatto il Gallo di*

Gallura," attributes it to a Pisan colony, the chief of whom bore a cock in his arms; but none of these derivations are founded on any known facts, and they are left to the reader to choose the least improbable of the three assumptions. A similar uncertainty exists in the origin of the earlier inhabitants; for there is too much vagueness in the supposition that some Tyrrhenian colonies, according to the Etruscan inscriptions, were sent here by Tuiscus, and that other colonies were subsequently introduced by Phorcus, from other districts.

Pausanias, mentioning a rebellion in Corsica, states that the conquered party fled into the mountains of Sardinia, and there established themselves as a colony, under the name of "Corsi," adopting it from their native country; and Pliny mentions the inhabitants of the Tempio districts under this name; but though the Carthaginians obtained possession of the greater part of the island, about 351 B.C., it does not appear that the Corsi, the Iliesi, and the other inhabitants of the mountainous districts of Gallura, were ever conquered.

A dispute, relative to booty, having arisen between the Carthaginians and the Spanish and African mercenaries, some of the latter left the Punic banner, and established themselves in the Gallura mountains; and the name of "Balari," or "thistles," is supposed to have been given them in allusion to the facility of their taking root.

An interesting period of the Giudicato of Gallura, while under the Pisan predominance in the latter part of the thirteenth century, is when Nino di Visconti, the Giudice, was simultaneously participating in the government of Pisa. While engaged there he left the administration of the affairs of Gallura to his deputy, Gomita, a monk, who damaged his master's interest by every

species of injustice, corruption, and extortion ; but being eventually discovered in having received bribes to allow one of the condemned enemies of Nino to escape, he was hung in 1284. It is of him that Dante says :

“ Fu frate Gomita

Quel di Gallura, vassel d'ogni froda,
 Che ebbe i nimici di suo Donnu in mano
 E fe' lor sì che ciascun se ne loda :
 Denar si tolse, e lasciolti di piano,
 Si com' e' dice : E negli altri uffici anche
 Barratier fu non picciol ma sovrano.
 Usa con esse Donno Michael Zanche
 Di Logudoru, e a dir di Sardigna
 Le lingue lor non si stanche.”

Nino returned to his Giudicato, where he carried on his contentions and rivalries with Ugolino della Gherardesca with great acrimony ; but, without following him in the details of his subsequent continental career, he was obliged to fly from Pisa in 1294, and on enrolling himself as a Genoese citizen, he retired to Gallura at the head of his fellow refugee citizens who had fled there, and who were no less prepared than himself to oppose the tyranny of the republic. The Doria, and Malaspina also joined him, and having made a treaty of neutrality with the Sassarese, they unitedly made an attack on the Giudicato of Arborea. An irregular guerilla warfare ensued, without any decisive victory, and the Giudice, on his return to Italy, died at St. Miniale, in 1298 or 1300, bequeathing the Giudicato to his daughter Giovanna. Dante, in the *Purgatorio*, makes him thus speak of his wife Beatrice d'Este, and her second marriage with Galeas di Visconti.

“ Non le farà sì bella sepoltura

La Vipera che i Milanesi accampa
 Come avria fatto il Gallo di Gallura.”

Under the Aragon dominion it took no conspicuous part in the vicissitudes of the other Giudicati ; but though subjected to wars, pestilences, and famines, these afflictions were less than it experienced towards the end of the seventeenth century from its moral condition. The government authority scarcely deserved that name, being despised, laughed at, and only acknowledged when private interest made obedience expedient ; the power and influence of the aristocracy were equally disregarded and weak ; the system of vendetta was carried to its full indulgence, without fear of law, or possibility of justice ; the roads and mountains were infested by fuorusciti of every description, and scarcely a family had not one or more of its members fugitive outcasts, or lawless vagabonds. The viceroy in vain attempted to conciliate the different parties, by promises of pardon ; but preferring their own system, they refused to admit of either amicable or compulsory interference. But this intestine war was diverted into another channel by the events of 1708, when the Gallurese were among the first to join the banner of the Arch-duke Charles of Austria against Philip V., and the Tempiese, for the early and active part they took, had a remission of all tribute for five years. In 1710, when Philip again attempted to regain Sardinia, he first attacked Gallura, and his forces were defeated at Terra Nova ; but in 1720 the province, together with the rest of the island, passed to the dominion of the house of Savoy, from which period, to the close of the century, there is little recorded, except the contests of the government with the fuorusciti. A circumstance occurred at the close of the last century, which, though trivial in itself, was attended with fatal consequences, and is illustrative of the system and principles of vendetta. By the code

of honor existing among the banditi, an attack on a foe who should be travelling with his wife or child, was forbidden ; they were considered sacred, and an equally chivalrous respect was paid to him as their guardian. A simple breach of this generous observance roused the whole of Gallura. A brigand was conducting his wife on horseback through the mountains, when he suddenly met his adversary, who, regardless of the conventional and living flag of truce, attacked and slew him, together with his pregnant wife. The relations and friends of the deceased were not the only outraged parties ; a general feeling of indignation and vengeance was kindled throughout the whole province ; every bandito felt it to be a breach of their laws of honour, and even the murderer's partisans not only denounced the act, but " refused him the kiss of peace." The mangled corpses were conveyed home, and the friends of the deceased having sworn on the body of the unfortunate Teodora a perpetual vendetta against the family of the assassin, a system of revenge and bloodshed was framed and carried out to such an extent, that hundreds of victims, perfectly innocent of even indirect participation in this single act of dishonor, fell in all parts of Gallura. Some of these facts are mentioned in a modern work, but I heard other circumstances connected with them from the mouth of one whose narrative left no doubt that his family had been very active participators in the general vendetta.

About the same period an individual, supposed to have been supported by a Spanish feudal baron possessing extensive property in the province, gradually mixed himself up with all public affairs, till he obtained such power and influence as enabled him to secure one of the high posts of government for his brother-in-law. Through

him he was enabled to commit every act of injustice and atrocity, selling pardon and liberty to those accused of even the greatest crimes, and encouraging the fuorusciti instead of defending the peaceable and innocent. Having secured these lawless outcasts as partisans, he so contrived, by plot and counterplot, to embroil and intimidate the whole province, that the population rose en masse, and armed themselves for the uncertain alternative of vendetta or defence.

The Tempiese were more especially the victims of this anarchy, and it was not till some time afterwards that a dissension having arisen among the partisans of this second Michele Zanche, an exposure of his iniquities ensued, and, after a severe struggle, the people were victorious, and were gradually tranquilised.

An attempt to advocate the French cause was made in 1801, when two Tempiese, Cilloco and Mamia, and a priest named Sana, gave out that they had arrived from Corsica with letters from the first consul, and urging the inhabitants of Gallura to throw off the Savoy yoke, stated that he would shortly appear, with 5000 men on the coast. A number of shepherds believing the statement, joined the triumvirate, and the party marched to Tempio, though without any hostile or revolutionary act; but Mamia being informed by the authorities that if he quietly disbanded his little force, pardon would be granted him; that the letter of the first consul was only an imposture, and that it was useless to rely on any assistance, he informed Cilloco of the improbability of success and his disinclination to attempt any further movement. Cilloco then fled, and the Tempiese authorities, freed from the fear of an attack, commenced a pursuit of the insurgent chiefs. Sanna was killed at the tower of Longone, which he

had occupied and defended with great bravery, having fought single-handed for several hours ; but the fate of Cilloco was less glorious, for, wandering in the mountains, where he was pursued by his enemies, he accidentally met Giovanni Mazzonedu, a government officer in disguise, to whom he applied in the name of charity for a morsel to eat, being in a state of great exhaustion from hunger and fatigue. He supplied him with food, and, under friendly terms and promises of assistance, concealed him in a spot called Pietrafarro, where his first act was to send twelve men to seize him as his prisoner. For a long time he defended himself with extraordinary courage and success, but at length was captured ; and Mazzonedu then offered the head of Cilloco to the government for the moderate price of the release of fourteen of his own relatives, who were condemned and in prison for crimes of great magnitude !

Though the bargain was not carried into effect to its full extent, the government obtained Cilloco at a partial redemption, and he was taken to Sassari, where, by the hands of the executioner, he died magnanimously, though ignominiously.

The arrival of the king at Tempio was an opportunity of seeing the district and town under the most favorable circumstances. The assembling of the inhabitants of the different villages to join in a general fête and holiday, is a matter of unfortunately too frequent occurrence in Sardinia ; but a royal visit drew them together with very different feelings. On the morning after my arrival, the whole town was busied in preparing for his Majesty's reception ; and by the kindness of the chiefs in authority, I was enabled to witness all the most important scenes. It was the first time that the Tempiese had ever beheld a monarch ; Carlo Alberto had visited Tem-

pio in 1829, when he was merely Principe di Savoia Carignano, and though that event was a strong shadow of royalty, and had initiated them a little into the sublime mysteries of the divine rights of kings, yet on the present occasion all eyes were strained to see a positive *bonâ fide*, real, living sovereign, and all mouths were trying to pronounce the words which they had never before essayed, "Viva il Re." The preparations were as extensive as the means would admit, and Tempiese ingenuity could devise on such an occasion. At an early hour the streets were planted with large boughs of trees on each side, to form an avenue; pieces of gay carpet, tapestry, and silk, were arranged and hung from the windows; the streets were swept, an operation which certainly had not been repeated since 1829. At the entrance of the principal part of the town, were two triumphal arches through which the king had to pass to his quarters at the bishop's palace. These triumphal arches, made of a few stripes of wood, and covered with coarse linen, were painted to represent granite, and looked so well, that it gave the Tempiese an idea of building an arch of the real material to commemorate this royal visit. They even spoke of it as a probability, which in a Sarde's mind is an enormous step towards the accomplishment of anything. Inscriptions were fixed up in various parts of the town, and crowds were beneath them trying to read them, or having them read to them. In other parts, the rehearsal of musicians, the assembling of the militia, the union of the different flags of the villages of Gallura, the motley groups of politicians and priests holding forth on the royal advent; the costumes of the unsophisticated peasants from the various districts, the assumption of dandyism, the foppery of half-civilised employés, and the self-satisfactory

step of the man of authority, formed unitedly a scene of amusement and interest. If all this confusion and bustle took place *sub dio*, one may easily imagine, by comparison, the state of the interior of every house. Each host had his rooms crowded with friends and relatives from the country; the preparation of the breakfasts, dinners, and suppers, called forth the domestic talents of the hostesses, and no less attention and assiduity were displayed in robing and adorning themselves and family.

It was towards sunset when the king arrived from Terra Nova; but to convey even an idea of the scene, it is necessary to know the position of the town. Standing about 1890 feet above the level of the sea, on the Gemini plain, the access to which is by steep and beautiful valleys, it is backed on the south by the magnificent range of the Limbara mountains, and by others of an equally wild and irregular formation to the north and south-east. The approach of the king, by the road which wound from the foot of the Limbara, was announced by the cannon of the town. By the expression, "*the cannon*," is meant literally the definite article, and the substantive in the singular, for the artillery did not extend to the plural number. The salutes were therefore few and far between, and gave an idea of minute guns, or signals of distress, rather than a royal *feu de joie*. A little circumstance connected with it occurred, illustrative of Tempiese innocence of royal etiquette and forms. Being present at the hoisting of the royal standard, and seeing it was only half-mast high, I observed to my friend who was superintending these matters, that its present position was indicative of death. The soldier in charge of the flag then gave himself the additional trouble of hauling it up, which, had he not been commanded, he probably would not have done, for he did

it with an air quite expressive of the idea which he partially mumbled out—that it was a useless trouble, and that half-mast high was quite sufficient. Notwithstanding the ominous prelude, the royal cortége soon arrived. The road leading to the town was lined with the spectators, in front of whom were placed, at certain distances apart, forty-nine large standards of the different villages representing their patron saints, painted and embroidered in the brightest and gayest colours. The procession was headed by the militia of Gallura, a body of about 200 men, dressed in their dark capote, long red cap, a double-breasted waistcoat of red velvet, and white *mutande* appearing between the *braghi* and the black gaiters. Carelessly seated on their meagre, but strong and active horses, their brightly-polished guns glistened in the beams of the setting sun, and their long and dark hair and beards gave the last touch to this Bedouin picture. Some light cavalry troops, the gens d'armes of the country, followed; and immediately after them the king, with the Duke of Genoa and his suite. On arriving at the gate of the town, the syndic, with the consiglieri and authorities, presented him the keys, reading to him, from a piece of paper, a set speech for the occasion.

In regard to the historical, civic, and ancient custom of delivering the keys of the city-gates to the sovereign on his arrival, Tempio had no ancient city-gate whatever, except two doors erected in the morning, and made of the same materials as the triumphal arches; and the keys of the said doors were two, both made of wood, and covered with gold and silver leaf paper. The whole farce was, however, consistently kept up. The king having received and returned the keys in due form, thanked the Tempiese authorities for the feeling

address, but of which I am confident he could not hear a dozen words. His Majesty then proceeded amid the cheers and vivas of the populace, the waving of handkerchiefs, and every demonstration of welcome, to the bishop's palace. In the evening, promenades, serenades, music, and illuminations drew the whole of the population from their homes, so that the streets were almost impassable ; but there was no dancing, for it was Friday ; singing is not a mortal sin, dancing is : and,

“ Thus the difference we see

’Twixt tweedle dum and tweedle dee.”

A large calico obelisk, with an inscription, was illuminated by lights placed inside ; the windows were lined with transparent paper lanterns, having “ Viva il Re ” written on them ; and attached to the trees were a variety of colored balloons, also transparent and lighted up. The combined reflection of these lights brightened the dark green foliage of the newly planted shrubs, and shewed out the variety and elegance of the costumes of the wandering multitude, the female portion of which appeared in more than their usual grace and loveliness, and completed the hallucination of this fairy scene. It is difficult to describe the dresses, so varied were they, but there seemed to be as much etiquette and caprice as at Paris or London. The upper classes adopt the Italian style, but the intermediate and lower wear the national dress. For the women, it consists of a scarlet, blue, or green velvet jacket, fitting very tightly to the figure, the edges having a border of a different color, and sometimes brocaded. The sleeves were formerly worn open down the front seam, with silver buttons to close them when required ; but this is not *à-la-mode* at present ; and the *camisòla* or outer doublet, of a similar

character, is also laid aside by the peasantry. The petticoat, of a dark cloth, with a very bright colored border ten or twelve inches deep, is called *Lu suncurinu*; but when the material is fine or of silk, it acquires the title of *La valdetta*. The under-petticoat is also of cloth, but of a different color and quality; but both of them are very full, with countless plaitings at the waist, and, being worn outside the jacket, they consequently fall over the hips with great elegance. The *Tempiese*, when she goes out, raises the *suncurinu* from behind, and brings it over the head with a peculiar knack and arrangement, which gives it a form and position somewhat resembling the Maltese hood; the bright broad border of the inner petticoat relieves the sober tint of the cloth; and the gay velvet-jacket peeps out with very effective brilliancy. No one seeing the *suncurinu* worn as a petticoat can imagine it can be so easily and elegantly metamorphosed into a hood.

The simple and elegant head-dress, *Su cenciu*, consists of a gaily-colored silk kerchief tied into three knots triangularly, one of them fitting into the nape of the neck and the other two on the forehead. They have something of a rosette form, but so arranged as to shew the borders and fringe with a most graceful negligence, far superior to the general mode adopted in other parts of Europe where the handkerchief head-dress is in use. When in mourning, white fillets are worn, somewhat similar to those of nuns. *Boccacio* alludes to them in his "*Laberinto di Amore*."—

"Deh guarda come a cotal donna stanno
Bene le bende bianche e i panni neri."

Dante also mentions it.* *Nino*, the *Giudice* of Gallura, speaking of his daughter, the Princess Gio-

* *Purgat.* viii. 170.

vanna, and his wife, Beatrice d'Este who, after his death, married Galeas Visconti di Milan, says,—

“ Quando sarai di là dalle larghe onde,
 Di a Giovanna mia, che per me chiami
 Là dove agli innocenti si risponde.
 Non credo che la sua madre più m'ami
 Poscia che transmutò le bianche bende
 Le quai, convien che misera ancor brami.”

It would be as impossible as useless to describe the various costumes of the different villages assembled on this occasion ; but Tempio, on this festival, united more brilliancy, elegance, and originality of dress, than I have seen in any country. The next morning was devoted to a royal chase ; and in the evening, dancing and other amusements were kept up till a very late hour. On Sunday the programme of the day was, *Mass and Te Deum*—*Bersaglio and Graminatogjiu*. The two former need hardly be mentioned, save that it was a fine field-day for the ecclesiastics, who went through their manœuvres with great precision and order, and to the perfect satisfaction of their regal commander-in-chief of the church of Sardinia. The *Bersaglio*, or shooting-match, took place outside the town on a level bit of road on the side of a hill commanding a fine view of the whole country towards the *Monte Pulchiana*. A platform and tent were erected for the king, and groups of people were scattered around to join in or witness this favorite national amusement.

Tempio is the principal gun-factory of the island ; though the barrels, which are very long and light, are made at *Brescia*, and then worked, fitted to their stocks, and finished off here, with considerable taste and ingenuity. The gun resembles, in many respects, the *Albanian tophaic*, with the exception of the former

being of polished and inlaid steel, while the latter is generally ornamented with silver. The ramrod is merely a piece of thick wire, and, being perfectly pliable, it is difficult to an unaccustomed hand to load the gun. The stock being very narrow and light, the greatly over-balancing weight and length of the barrel are other inconveniences to the stranger. Even to the natives, who use them with great precision and skill, the loading is an awkward operation, for, from the pliability of the ramrod, and the length of the gun, which is generally from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 feet, it is necessary to incline it on the ground. The price of a gun varies from 2*l.* to 12*l.*, according to the ornamental work.

The Bersaglio was a scene of great confusion and irregularity, and after three quarters of an hour's continued firing, there still remained some 200 or 300 competitors, all anxious to try their skill and luck. A very small target was placed at about 150 yards off; and one in every three shots entered it. The centre of the bull's eye having been hit, the king closed the scene, by giving an order to the fortunate marksman for a double barrellled percussion gun, with which, in all probability, he will never be able to take as good an aim as with that by which he won it. But the contest for the prize was not confined to the long-bearded, long-haired, dark, wild mountaineers of Gallura. Their wives, their sisters, and their mothers can handle the gun as well as the distaff, and many of them joined in the Bersaglio. These Gallurese Amazons, though not the most skilful, were the most interesting part of the exhibition; and from their use of the gun as a matter of pleasure, one may easily believe what they would do, and, from what one hears, have done, in cases

of necessity. It must not, however, be supposed that these heroines possess only the virtue of bravery. They

“ though a race of Amazons,
Are formed for all the witching arts of love :
Though thus in arms they emulate her sons,
And in the horrid phalanx dare to move,
'Tis but the tender fierceness of the dove
Pecking the hand that hovers o'er her mate.”

The king then proceeded to the Graminatogjiu. Mythology states that Hercules left the arts of war for female domestic employments ; but the comparison will not bear an examination, for nobody had then ever complimented the King of Sardinia by even suspecting him of being a hero, or of being attached to a Tempiese Deianira ; the Bersaglio and target are not a club and Hydra, nor is the Graminatogjiu a distaff. Still the transition from the firing of guns to the carding of wool brings the fabled page of history to one's recollection. A Graminatogjiu, or wool-plucking, is a custom and amusement confined exclusively to Tempio, and perhaps does not exist anywhere out of Sardinia. That it should not be found elsewhere is singular, nor was any reason assigned for it ; but the great quantity of wool produced in the district of Gallura, and requiring immediate preparation for use ; the absence of a large portion of the male population in their employment of pastori, viandanti, and cavallanti, and consequent fondness for reunion among the females ; the love of dancing, and, above all, the general spirit of poetry and power of extempore versification, may be, if not causes, certainly excuses for the existence of this curious custom. The system in itself is good, uniting the “ utile dulci” in the following successful manner. B has a quantity of wool to be plucked, and she invites the

rest of the consonants of the Tempiese alphabet to come to her house and do it. But she knows that consonants by themselves are mutes, and the male vowels belonging to them are therefore tacitly included in the invitation to make them pronounceable. C and D in their turn issue their "At Homes." It is a treaty which is nominally for the reciprocity of service; but the secret articles belonging to it are, the admission of friends (who help them to do nothing), a small provision of flowers, bonbons, and ad libitum dancing when the wool is done; and as there is nothing in the treaty objectionable to the contracting parties, but, on the contrary, agreeable, the renewal of it is frequent. The Graminatogjiu, as prepared for the king, was very different to that in its natural and unregal character. His Majesty and the Duke of Genoa having taken their seats at the bottom of a room, with his suite around him, twenty-nine of the prettiest and cleverest damsels of Tempio were ushered in, and sat down in the middle of room, with a basket of flowers placed before them. Each of them received a small piece of wool, the plucking of which served them till the whole scene was finished.

By some mismanagement the programme was not understood, and several minutes passed in an amusing state of uncertainty, for the poor heroines, or rather victims, held their heads down, pottering over the bit of wool with a painful anxiety, while we stood around them discussing, in a whisper, among ourselves, their merits and miseries. What was to be done? The flowers in the large vase at their feet were fading; their pent-up voices were choking to break into song, and get rid of the studied and prepared congratulatory verses; the unfortunate handfuls of wool were all already manipulated into 10,000 different shreds; the royal jaws

were guilty of a gape; and we began to consider that there must be some other interpretation to the word Graminatogjiu beyond wool-plucking. His Majesty at length suggested an idea, something between an Imperial edict and a delicate hint, that this pantomime should be changed into an opera. Thereupon a curious looking individual—a combination of a Fitzgerald and a Fadladeen—a poet-laureat by anticipation, introduced a guitar-player, and having tutored the *prima donna* as to her part, they opened the first act. The guitar, which had five metallic strings, poured forth its harsh vibrations, and the poet, dictating the first stanza to the songstress, she “burst into song and loyalty.”

Never shall I forget that first outbreak! The room in which we were was small, the retinue of the king was small, and all was small, save the capacity of the voice of the singer. We did not hear the echo, but there is little doubt that Monte Rotondo, in Corsica, and Etna, in Sicily, reverberated the song! Between the stanzas, a voice exclaimed “Per Dio Santo! che bella voce, che voce!” He must have been a Tempiese—and her lover. No one else could have admired and appreciated her powers. Though I heard, yet I do not pretend to have understood all the song, but its substance was evident, for, at the conclusion, the king, with good sense, requested them not to indulge in such congratulatory adulatory odes, but to give a specimen of their natural talents of versification. Another of the twenty-nine Muses commenced, but, alas! it was all in vain! Fadladeen, in a second attempt, either out of the abundance of his heart, or of his policy, redictated to her, and she reiterated the golden age of Tempio, the perfection of the House of Savoy, and the wonders of the princes of Genoa. It was too much, however, even for royal diges-

tion, and on the termination of the song, the King dissolved the female "Stamento" from any further "donativo;" and expressed a wish to see the national "ballo tondo." This seemed to produce a general confusion; Fadladeen was prevented producing some further odes, —what was to become of the flowers, and the presentation of them by the cavalieri? "No hay de que," as the Spaniards say. It was ultimately arranged that the converse of the custom should be adopted, and that the twenty-nine damsels should present their bouquets to the cavalieri instead of receiving them. Their embarrassment was very amusing, for they knew not the etiquette on such occasions; but, after a little instruction, they proceeded to their task. The Principessa del Graminatogjiu having selected a bouquet from the vase, presented it to the King. Totally and happily ignorant of all form and ceremony, she, with sweet innocence and simplicity placed it in the hands of her sovereign, as though he had been a shepherd of her native hills, and he received it with a smile indicative of his appreciation of the gift, though no less of his amusement at the difference of a Turin and Tempio presentation. The next bouquet was, of course, presented to the Duke of Genoa, who accepted it in its proper and intended light—namely, an invitation to dance.

Having been informed at this time, by one of my friends in the King's suite conversant with these matters, that it was likely a bouquet would be presented to me, being the only foreigner present, and inasmuch as I had no wish to make my first appearance on the Sardinian boards, and expose myself as a performer in a dance of which I knew nothing, nor have a partner to whom I might not be able to speak, from my own ignorance of Sarde, and hers of Italian, I withdrew

from my position, and ensconced myself in a safe corner. The precaution was, however, of little avail, for, notwithstanding my outpost rank, a fair challenger drew me from my retreat, and presenting me with a bouquet, enlisted me in her service, while the rest of the twenty-nine provided themselves also with partners. The music at length began, and the Duke of Genoa having been claimed by his partner, and the rest of us similarly drawn into the circle, the performance commenced; but, as this can hardly be considered a right specimen of the national dance, a description of it is given elsewhere.

On the present occasion none entered more fully into the spirit of the ballo tondo than those who, though essentially Sarde by birth and feeling, have lived in the presence and influence of the court of Turin, without losing their national character and affections; a fresh life seemed to be infused into them as they gradually warmed in the dance; and though "some sixty summers o'er," they were roused into all the life and animation of thirty. It was no less amusing on the other hand, to see the Viceroy, with other sedate authorities, for whom the dance had no national charm, figuring in the magic ring; an honor they would doubtless have dispensed with, but which it was politic to accept. After a few waltzes and quadrilles the party broke up, and thus terminated the royal Graminatogjiu; but I subsequently witnessed this festa in its natural state, being held in a room not remarkable for cleanliness or comfort. The gentle zitelle were there, cross-legged on the floor, with a heap of wool apportioned to each of them. Their lovers were lolling and idling by their sides,

"The jest and youthful jollity,
The quips and cranks and wanton wiles,
Nods and becks and wreathed smiles,"

passed with general animation and hilarity, almost drowning the sharp notes of the guitar. The costumes had none of the extreme formality or wonderful cleanliness in which they were exhibited to regal eyes. Perfectly at ease in their daily but elegant dress, they worked at the wool, the bundles of which decreased or remained according to their industry or idleness ; or, in equivalent terms, according to the absence or presence of the cavalieri. But the laugh and conversation were suddenly checked by a voice from one of the bystanders, who commenced his song, accompanied by the never-failing guitar. Frequently the "bene, bene," came from many a voice, indicating the excellence of the composition ; and the tale of love being finished, the hero presented the heroine with the flower he had been holding, as the ostensible subject of his song. She placed it in her bosom with an air of triumph, and, after a slight pause, asked one of her friends to answer the verses for her. Having placed himself by her side, he ascertained the true thermometrical state of her heart, and consequent nature of the response that he might give ; and being thus armed with her tender weapons, he dictated to her, line by line, the answer, which she accordingly sang. Each line was written down and translated to me as it came forth, and as such it will be presented. Several other Parnassus knights subsequently entered the lists of this poetical tournament, in which love was naturally the cause of each encounter, and produced various "woeful ballads" to their "mistress's eyebrow," some of considerable merit.

The manual part of the Graminatogjiu was now nearly drawing to a close, but it was quite evident that their ideas had been more wool-gathering than their hands wool-plucking. The last scene of the first act

was finished most unceremoniously, and the first scene of the last act began with the introduction of bonbons and rosolio; and such is their partiality for the former that an ounce will repay 100 pounds of wool; nor are they diffident in a little contraband trade, for the smuggling them into their pockets was an important part of the scene. The talking, the rattling of wine-glasses, and grappling of bonbons resounded on all sides, and the general "dolce (query dolci) far niente" continued till the cry for the dance arose. It was "all cry and no wool." The sound of the music of the ballo tondo raised immediately all the maidens from their cross-legged postures, and summoned them all in its service; and it was kept up with a spirit and continuance which was a certain remedy for two hours and a half's cross-leggedness.

One of the most amusing parts of the entertainment was the observance of the features of the different parties, which formed so clear an index to their feelings. The happiness and vanity of those who had received a flower and "blushed at the praise of their own loveliness" being sung aloud; the interest and attention excited in others, though not the favored objects of the youthful poets; the occasional bitter and forced smile of half envy, half rivalry; the hasty but searching glance occasionally thrown round the room in search of their cavalieri, were more or less depicted on the countenances of the fair conclave. On the other hand, the anxiety of many a swain to sing his mistress's charms, with the silent ambition of gaining additional favor in her eyes by a public exhibition of his talents; and the appreciation or depreciation of each other's poetical powers, either in rivalry or the spirit of criticism—were equally "written on their brows." The only countenance in the whole group which seemed to be moved

by thoughts of an unromantic and substantial nature, was that of the owner of the wool, who betrayed her ideas of the infinite superiority of a staple commodity when placed in comparison with poetical sentiment and dancing.

It is difficult to speak of the beauty of the Tempiese assembled on this occasion, for one cannot do justice to it in a description without incurring the risk of an accusation of a romantic rhapsody from those who have never had the happiness of seeing them. Making a due allowance for the dull reality of actually manipulating a heap of dirty wool, it yet assumes a charm when the task is performed by 20 to 30 lovely girls, whose youth and beauty are thrown out to advantage by the elegance of their costume, whose energies are developed by an occupation as well as a pastime, and whose feelings are called forth by the spirit of poetry and passion.

In gazing on objects of so much loveliness, employed in so unlovely an occupation as wool-plucking, one felt with Comus,—

“ It is for homely features to keep home —
 They had their name thence,—coarse complexions
 And cheeks of sorry grain will serve to ply
 The sampler, and to tease the housewife's wool ;
 What need a vermeil tintured lip for that,
 Love darting eyes, or tresses like the morn ? ”

It may be much questioned, if Philip King of Burgundy, when he instituted his order of the Toison d'or, at the feast at Bruges in 1430, on his marriage with Isabella of Portugal, had a brighter galaxy of beauty than there is to be found in a simple Graminatogjiu of a wool-fleece in Sardinia, or whether an Argonautic expedition to obtain a Golden Fleece (which may have been nothing but a semi-piratical, semi-commercial voyage to obtain

the gold and wool of the Euxine) might have been worth a journey from Thessaly to Colchis, including the episode of a Medea; but any modern Jason may feel assured, that with less risk and more pleasure, an excursion from the Thames to Tempio would be well repaid by seeing an ungolden fleece in the hands of charmers no less potent than the daughter of Æetes.

Previously to giving the words of some of the songs sung at this homely festa, the peculiar faculty of the Gallurese for extemporaneous composition should be mentioned; for though a highly poetical feeling extends throughout the greater part of the island, the Limbara is the Parnassus of Sardinia. In the Improvisatori and Improvisatrici (for both sexes are thus endowed) one sees the idea "Poeta nascitur" curiously confirmed, for the system of education which exists, instead of extending and improving, seems rather to repress and nullify the imaginative powers. The Tempiese, from their infancy, are accustomed to "lisp in numbers and to breathe in song;" yet few have risen to any general eminence, or been recognised as poets on Terra ferma. The shepherd roaming on the mountains, with a happy indifference as to A or Z forming any part of his speech, will perpetrate couplets and stanzas *ad infinitum*, either to his mistress or to his flock. His heart is a high-pressure rhyming engine, which must have a vent, and the length of his pastorella's locks, or the tails of his sheep, are equally his safety-valves. Independently of the innate power of versifying, the construction and pronunciation of the language are of material assistance in developing it, and buoy up the improvisatore as he floats upon the "tide of song." The Tempiese, like the Italian language, is both simple and melodious. The nominative cases and verbs do not run loosely about

in search of each other, or find themselves separated by five or six parenthetical ideas, as in the German and Greek compositions. There is therefore but little complexity, though there is a concatenation of ideas, and frequently a continuation of a sentence for several verses, without a stop. When sung with the guitar, the accompaniment is simple and unvarying, consisting only of two or three bars; and between each line of the poetry, the musician repeats this monotonous cadence, giving the poet thereby time to arrange his ideas and versification. This interruption in the words causes some difficulty to the stranger, unaccustomed to broken sentences, though among themselves they not only follow, but with their sympathetic soul for song, generally foreknow, and are in advance of the next line. The termination of the generality of Tempiese words in a vowel, gives a facility for rhyming, unknown in the German, French, and English languages; and without detracting from the Sarde power of verse, it may account to a certain extent for the rapidity with which they compose. Even in prose and in conversation one is struck by the similarity of terminations of words; and a metrical disposition of them is but the next step up their Parnassus.

In the first song here given, we find the following train of thoughts; and what can be more natural and consequent ideas (it might be presumptuous to say *facts*) in a love song, than those of "love," and "for ever," "sincere and true," "saw," and "smiled," "thought," and "compliment," "faithful," and "heaven," &c. But these words are, in Tempiese, natural rhymes in themselves. It may be said that this is nothing more than the spirit and art of rhyme existing in every country, "the conveyance of ideas and adaptation of words into metrical lines, the final syllables of

which have a similar sound." Be it so ; but it does not alter the fact of the Italian and Sarde, and especially the Tempiese dialect, having a greater similarity of sounds than any other European language ; and, consequently, a greater facility for versification. In our own tongue we find that sigh and die, part and heart, breath and death, and such like sentimentalisms, are likewise said to be consequences and rhymes ; and we know that they may be worked up together, by any pale-faced erotical individual in his or her closet, into what he or she may call verse, with the aid of Walker's Rhyming Dictionary, and a considerable consumption of midnight oil, as counterbalances to the invitâ Minervâ. This, however, is very different to the outpourings, the overflowing fountain, the "*torrens cantandi copia linguæ*," with which the Tempiese indulge in song on subjects, moreover, on which they have not prepared themselves. When unaccompanied by the guitar, the verses flowed unhesitatingly, consecutively, and evidently much more to the satisfaction of both poet and audience.

Amid some of the predicaments and consequences arising from my isolated position as a stranger, I was requested to give a bouquet of flowers to her whom I might consider the prettiest. My ignorance of Sarde saved me from making a speech when I presented it ; but one of my friends undertook to reveal the secrets of my heart in due poetical form. Having done so, she replied to them, and making all allowance for the compliments which such a formal occasion necessarily required, it was some satisfaction to find by her words that the English nation has not, in its wanderings and travelings, caused by its arrogance that astonishment and ridicule in Gallura which it unfortunately has in so many other parts of Europe.

It is with some hesitation that a translation is given of the following songs, sung at the Graminatogjiu, from the knowledge that the light poetical thoughts and expressions, the easy sentimental nothings, must all be



A GRAMINATOGJIU AT TEMPPIO.

less than nothing in a plain literal prose version. The subject of the first is a simple presentation of a flower, declaratory of love; and however common place and ridiculous the ideas may appear to the "cold in clime and cold in blood," they have much warmth and tenderness when sung in their original language, with all the concomitants of the scene which has been described.

No. I.

Umili, sagia, e prudenti,

Humbly, discreetly, and prudently,

Cun vera diuzioni

With true devotion

Si presenta chistu fiori

This flower is presented to you

Pal dalli lu solamenti

That to you alone it may give

La vera dizisioni

The real intention

D'un sintimentu d'amori ;
 Disiando a tutti l'ori,
 Eva bedda, d' incuntratti
 Pal ditti e pal cunfidatti
 Chista passioni vera.
 Eddunca si se sinzera,
 Com' e iddu en la cridenza,
 Procura falli sta' sera
 La disciata sittenzia,
 Sia di motti o di vità.
 No li fa incrudelita
 Cu un amanti irriscioltu ;
 Cundannalu sidd' ha toltu,
 Dalli premieu s' in ha.
 Che dispostu d' acitta

Lu piu balbaro maltrattu ;

Ma pero cum chistu pattu
 E vera condizioni,
 Chi senza adulazioni,
 L' hai a di la veritai ;
 Che tutta sinzeritai
 La chi di iddu espunitti.
 Dunca aba comencia a ditti

Palto di lu so trattalu ;
 E prosighi a esprimitti
 Chi di ti inamuratu
 Dall' ora chi l'hai datu
 Sola un signali d'afettu.
 Ed e chistu lu sicrettu
 Lu chi vo chi ti dizzidi.
 Chi volti cantu lu vidi ;

Comu ti mira, lu miri ;

E fiulendilu irridi

And sentiment of love.
 Continually anxious,
 My beauteous Eva, to meet you,
 And tell and confide to you
 This real passion.
 If therefore you are sincere,
 As it is believed you are,
 Try to pronounce this evening
 The desired decision,
 Be it of life or death.
 Oh ! be not cruel
 To your lover who is steadfast,
 Condemn him if he is wrong,
 Reward him if he deserves it.
 From you he is willing to re-
 ceive

The harshest terms you may
 impose ;

But with this agreement
 And this condition,
 That without flattery
 You will tell him the truth ;
 For it is with all sincerity
 That this flower is presented.
 He would now commence to
 tell you

The terms of his proposal ;
 And proceed to declare
 That he was enamoured of you
 From the hour you gave him
 One slight sign of tenderness.
 And this is the secret
 He wishes you to decide.
 That you should turn to him
 when you see him ;
 That you should look at him as
 he looks at you ;
 And that in looking you should
 smile

Cu una risa amurosa.
 Cu aria majestosa
 L' appari chi sia l'ammiri ;
 Ma cussi ti ni ritiri,
 Senza falli compimentu.
 Chistu e lu so pinsamentu ;—
 In chistu solu irrefletti,
 E palchissu ti ripetti
 Di dilli lu sentimentu
 Di chiss' amurosa risa ;
 Dilli, si to se dizisa
 D'amallu e vulellu be,
 Comu li proi li dai ;

O si chissa risa e
 Finzioni chi li fai
 Pal disinganallu apposta.
 Palchissu pocu ti costa
 Di dallo aba la risposta,
 Si li se o no custanti.

Cun passola d'amanti
 La risciolta l'hai da

Chi l'accunotti d'amalli ;

Pal pudessi assigurà
 E fido in li to atti.
 Chi s' attendi a li cuntralli
 Di un cuntinu adorati,
 Comu s'adora la luna
 Par ojettu di biddesa ;
 Palche la piu primziata
 Com' e la alta nisciuna
 Cun majiori cuntintisa
 Sare da iddu adorata ;
 Sola tu sare amata

Custanti fin à la motti ;

With a loving smile.
 With a disdainful air
 It seems that you regard him ;
 And that you thus withdraw
 Without noticing him.
 This is his idea ;—
 On this alone he thinks,
 And therefore I re-urge you
 To tell him the meaning
 Of that loving smile ;
 To tell him if you are decided
 To wish him well and love him,
 According to the proofs you
 have given,

Or whether this smile is
 A feint that you have made
 On purpose to deceive him ;
 It will cost you but little
 To give him an answer,
 If you are constant to him or
 not.

With the troth of a lover
 You should give your reso-
 lution

Whether you are content to
 love him :

So that he may assure himself
 And confide in your actions.
 If you hold to the engagement,
 He will always adore you,
 As one adores the moon
 On account of her beauty :
 As the most esteemed
 And greatest, no one but you
 With greater gratification
 Will be adored by him ;
 You alone will be beloved by
 him

In constancy until death ;

Bast' e ch' agia la sotti,
Chi tantu disicia e brama

Di sape, chi comu t' ama
Tal e guali l'ami tu.
No vo sape altu piu.

Vo da ti solu intende
Chista paraula pura ;
Pal fatti ancora sape
Fenditi di piu sicura,
Chi moltu in la sipultura.
Sara custante e fideli,

Comu di fanni lu celi
Vera testimoni anza.
A tattu chistu s' avvanza,
Comu di datti li proi,
Basta chi tu ti cummoi ;

Sendi di natura in drittu
A ditti, comu t'ha dittu,
Ca so li to sentimenti,
Umili, sagi, e prudenti.

Provided he has the lot,
Which he most desires and
wishes

To know, that as he loves you,
So you also love him.
He does not wish to know
more.

He wishes only to hear from you
This simple word ;
So that he may reassure you,
Making you more secure in him
Than death and the tomb.

He will be constant and faith-
ful,

As the Heavens will bear
A true witness of it.

To this point he undertakes
To give you proofs,
Provided you give your con-
sent ;

It being a natural right
To tell him, as he has told you,
What your sentiments are,
Humbly, discreetly, and pru-
dently.

That the coquetting smiles of a lovely face have been, and will be productive of equal mischief to, and of similar thoughts in the hearts of some millions in every age and in every clime, is undeniable ; a loss of dinner, or restless night are frequent consequences of those dear and dangerous delusions ; but that they should produce nearly a hundred extemporary doggerel rhymes is marvellous to unpoetical souls. If, according to the *Langage des Fleurs*, each flower is the representative of a sentiment one would pray to be delivered from a bouquet, if accompanied with poetical outbreaks of a similar quality and quantity. I did not observe what

flower it was which on this occasion expressed so much, but it would doubtless be much cultivated, were its utility and speaking powers better known. Lord Burleigh's nod may have said a great deal; but for a stamen and a few petals to breathe forth a volume of such loving odors, is equally astonishing. The young lady's answer is, as one might expect it to be,—a vindication of her smile, and the usual professions of love. Luckily, however, she acts upon the doctrine of "the less that is said is the soonest mended;" and the reader therefore will escape with a very short infliction.

LA RISPOSTA.

Si lu fiori ha tanta cura
 Di sape lu chi no sa,
 Hagi cura di turra
 Pal pultalli l'ambasciata.
 E dilli, chi sono istata
 Cun tutti chiara e sinzera;
 Chi l'evvidenzia vera
 No haju nicatu mai;
 Che solu la viritai
 La chi m'ha sempre pultatu.
 E l'attu cha osservatu

D'un amori palziali,
 Dilli che tali e guali
 Senza umbra di finzioni.

Chista e la dizisioni,
 Chistu e lu me sentimentu.
 E si pa lu trattamentu,
 Fida pocu en la risposta

Dilli, che la me proposta
 D'amallu e vulellu be,
 Comu un veru ziladori,

THE ANSWER.

If the flower has so great a wish
 To know what it does not know,
 I will endeavor
 To answer its message,
 And to tell him that I have been
 Open and sincere to all,
 And that clear evidence
 Has never disproved it;
 That truth alone
 Has always been my principle.
 That the gesture which he observed
 Of a partial affection,
 Tell him that it was exactly that
 Without a shadow of dissimulation.
 This is my decision,
 This is my sentiment.
 And if by my treatment
 He relies but little on my answer,
 Tell him it is my intention
 To wish him well and love him,
 As one truly devoted to him,

E chi chissa risa è	And that this smile is
La proa d'un ver amori.	The proof of a real affection.
Chi si m'ama, e m'ha in cori,	That if he loves me, and holds me in his heart,
Como dici frequenti,	As he frequently says he does,
Dilli chi l'haju presenti ;	Tell him that I hold him also present ;
E fidia solamenti	That he may even rely alone
In la paraula pura	On this my pure word,
Si lu fiori ha tanta cura,	If the flower has so great a wish (to know it.)

The following is another specimen of the sighing, dying, improvisatore effusions. The lover, with a poetical hammer, strikes her flinty heart, and by her answer, it seems that he succeeded in producing something like a spark of fire ; though not remarkable for its brightness or warmth. Its principal merit is, the charitable view she takes of the affair ; for instead of her dismissing and sending her lover to a nameless unearthly power,—a benediction perhaps too frequently bestowed,—she peacefully and piously consigns him into quite a different guardianship,—the hands of Providence, as a consolation for his dissatisfied mind.

E no ti cumoi ancora ?	And your heart is not yet touched ?
Balbara, chi se pinsendi ?	Cruel one, of what are you thinking ?
No lu vedi che morendi	Do you not see that the object
L'oggettu che l'ama tantu ?	Who so much loves you, is dying ?
No ho causatti spantu ?	Does it not cause you any sur- prise ?
No lu poi irripara	You cannot imagine
La sumidda chi l'appari !	What an appearance he has !
Impossibili mi pari	It appears to me impossible
Chi possi a tantu arria	That you can know all this,

E chi sii tant' avara.
 La su figura irripara
 Pallida, d'orrore tinta,

Chi da dolenzia amara
 Dei arristatti cunvinta.
 Si cuntempli la su cara,
 Comu di tutti e distinta
 Par oggettù di paura,
 Che faci e tutti timir.
 E tu sarè tanta dura,
 Che lu lassare murir,
 Sendi tu l'unica cura
 Di tuttu lu so pati ?
 Di tutti li so quai ?
 Chistu no po dessi mai ;
 Nisciuna po cuntemplallu
 Chi tu no dei ajutallu,
 E no dei sullevallu
 Di tanta calamitai ;
 Solu per l'humanitai,
 Dei a chistu irriducitti.

E no dei cummuitti

Pal sulleva un amanti
 Da tant é tanti dulatori ?
 Si li se o no custanti,

Si tu l'hai o no in cori.

Mira, che chistu lu stanti
 Di dalli proi d'amori ;
 E mira chi prestu mori
 Che dizisa la paltita,—
 Si no li dai un cunfoltu.
 No ti fa incrudelita
 No lu condanna à toltu,
 Chi cu un solu

And yet be so cruel.
 His appearance is so wan
 And impressed with wretched-
 ness,
 That you ought to be convinced
 Of the bitterness of his grief.
 If you look at his countenance,
 As is evident to all,
 He is a frightful object,
 And alarms all who see him.
 And yet you will be so cruel
 As to let him die,
 You being the only cure
 For all his sufferings,
 And for all his griefs ?
 This can never be :
 No one can imagine
 That you should not help him,
 That you should not relieve him
 From so much misery.
 Even for humanity's sake,
 You should bring yourself to
 this.

And ought you not to move
 yourself
 To solace a lover
 In so much misery ?
 To tell him if you are constant
 or not,
 Or if you hold him in your
 heart.

See now that this is the moment
 To give him a proof of your love ;
 And that he is prepared to die
 If his lot is decided,—
 If you give him no consolation.
 Do not make yourself so cruel,
 Do not condemn him unjustly,
 You who can alone

Poi salvalli la vita,
 Ma no ti se commuita
 Pa l'amanti chi pinendi ?
 Ch'ai arrieci, e no intende
 Lu supientu li so guidi ?
 Hai l'occi, e no lu vidi
 In lu patimentu, che
 Iddu e murendi pal té ?
 E tu par iddu no mori !
 No,—poi falli un favori :—
 Prummetti li chi j'ia l'ami ;—
 Chi da chissi accesi fiam
 D'una frebba tant' aldenti,
 L'hai a vide prontamenti
 Subbitu tranchillu, e sanu.
 Bast 'e ch'agi un cori umanu,

Cumministrengili ajutu.
 Jia lu vidi che cadutu
 Si voi dalli la mani.
 E ne ista e dumani,
 Si tu voi liberallu ;
 Chi no poi piu salvallu

Si lassi passà chist' ora
 E no ti cummoi ancora ?

LA RISPOSTA.

Si la causa fuss ' eu
 Di calma li to dolori
 Cun datti in mano lu cori,

CREDU d'essi suddisfattu ;

E si da chissa maltrattu
 Ti poss' eu libera,—
 Credimi, ch'ajua tanta
 D'ugna rimedio umanu

Save his life,—
 Are you not yet moved
 For your lover who is perishing ?
 Have you ears, and do not hear
 His sighs and his griefs ?
 Have you eyes, and do not see
 That in his sufferings
 He is dying for you ?
 And you do not die for him !
 No—then grant him a favor :
 Assure him that you love him ;
 That from the kindled flames
 Of his ardent fever,
 You will soon see him
 Tranquil and well.
 Enough, if you have a human
 heart,
 You will relieve him.
 You already see he is fallen
 A slave into your hands.
 And do not defer till to-morrow
 If you wish to release him ;
 For you will not be able to save
 him
 If you let pass the present hour,
 And your heart is not yet
 touched ?

THE ANSWER.

If I were the remedy
 To soothe your sorrows
 By placing my heart in your
 hands,
 Believe me you should be satis-
 fied ;
 And if from this torment
 I can free you,
 Believe me, I would use
 All human means.

Palchi di videtti sanu,	For to see you restored and well
Esu, canta te, lu bramu ;	Would rejoice me, as much as you ;
E, se lu ditti chi t'amu	And if to say that I love you
Basta solu pal curatti,	Is enough by itself to cure you,
T'affelma chi deve amatti	Be assured that I could love you
Ancora in la sippultura	Even till the grave ;
Ma no socu eu la cura	But if I am not the remedy,
Chi ca procurratti e Deu.	Then you can obtain it from God.

History does not allude to the extemporising faculty of the Sardes, nor are there any works extant of ancient Sardinian poets. Tigellius, a native of Sardinia, but a resident at Rome, seems to have been as much a singer as a poet, and to have basked in the imperial smiles of Augustus, Caius Cæsar, and Cleopatra ; but their favor and patronage did not protect him from, but on the contrary may have caused, the bitter animadversions of Horace and Cicero. The former disliked him for having sung his Odes badly, and speaks very contemptuously of him, Sat. lib. i. 2, 3, and Sat. lib. i. 10, 90. In Sat. lib. i. 3, 1, he denounces him as a strong example of the prevailing fault of most singers, and again alludes to this "vitium," and deprecates the idea of his works being sold and handled by the vulgar, like those of Tigellius, Sat. lib. i. 4, 71.

Cicero, in his Epistle to Fabius Gallus, spares neither Tigellius nor his native country ; (" id ego in lucris pono non ferre hominem pestilentiorum patriâ suâ") and in almost every instance in which he mentions him, it is in terms of bitterness.

To find, therefore, the only poet and musician of Sardinia mentioned in history, denounced both by the poet and the orator of the day, does not argue much in

favor of the poetical talents of the ancient Sardes. It has been advanced in defence of Tigellius, that if he really had any merit he would have been not only envied, but disliked, for the court favors it procured him, and consequently no less abused than if he were merely a bad singer and royal buffoon.

The little we know of him tends only to prove the latter opinion ; but, because we have no Sardinian poetry extant, or even an account of it transmitted to us, it is no more a proof that it never existed than the absence of any mention of sculpture or painting is conclusive evidence of those arts never having been cultivated in the island.

The Tempiese spirit of poetry is not, however, confined to its own language. I had the pleasure of knowing a gentleman, whose compositions in Sarde, Italian, and Latin, were excellent ; and he also had tried his Pegasus in English harness, having translated a few stanzas of *Childe Harold* into Italian verse ; and though he could not speak a word of our language he had succeeded in giving a tolerable idea of that immortal poem in " syllables which breathe of the sweet south." The Latin compositions were numerous and good ; and, as a nation, the Sardes have a greater affection for their old parent stem, the Latin, than the Italians on the continent. There one finds, in the principal towns, a literary address, or an article of deep research written in Latin, and an occasional smattering of it among the priests ; but, generally speaking, the knowledge of the language among the multitude does not extend much beyond the formula of the church service.

These limitations do not exist in Sardinia.. A Sarde will make you an eloquent speech in Latin on any subject he is acquainted with, though he may not be able

to tell you the difference melted Russia and Prussia ; and the extreme facility with which they compose in this as well as in their native tongue has subjected them to the well-founded accusation of a *cacoethes scribendi*. There are few incidents of any public or private importance allowed to escape unapostrophised, and the slightest pretext is sufficient to produce the "turgid ode and tumid stanza."

An amicable altercation took place lately between two of these Heliconian drunkards. "Amant alterna Camcænæ," and the contest was carried on in various metres to the termination of their differences. A young man agreed to accompany a friend and his sister, to whom he was attached, to a neighbouring festa, provided the weather and other private circumstances permitted ; but, failing in his engagement, his friend playfully accused him of the nonfulfilment of his promise, and neglect of his *fiancée*. Who would suppose that such an everyday occurrence, such a trivial event, would put the Muses in motion ? No one, except in Sardinia. The correspondence assumed the form of a poetical process of pleading ; just what one might imagine Serjeant Stephen would have published, had he written his work from Mount Parnassus instead of Chancery Lane. The plaintiff framed his declarations, complaining of the non-performance of the defendant's promise, in five stanzas of Alcaics, to which the defendant pleaded, by way of confession and avoidance, that the weather was not fine enough ; and some twenty Hexameters and Pentameters, descriptive of storm, &c., made out an excuse. This, however, was not considered sufficient in the eyes of the plaintiff, who then put in some fourteen Iambics, by way of replication, asserting that the heavens had been all-propitious, at least in his district.

The rejoinder, by the defendant, melted into eight soft Sapphics, mixing up the dews of heaven with the tenderness of his mistress, and that his fear of the former arose only from the harm they might cause to the latter. Thereupon the litigious plaintiff works himself up into a hendecasyllabic surrejoinder, maintaining that for her sake the defendant should have defied the heavens, with such like extravagances. A Trochaic rebutter, abounding in conquests over earth, air, fire, and water, and other outrageous endurances in the service of the young lady, brought these poetical pleadings to an issue. The above instance is mentioned merely as one of the many in which the Sardes so constantly break into Latin versification, rather than for any peculiar merit in its composition.

Tempio, after the departure of the king, soon returned to its natural state of lethargic dulness. The trees which formed the avenues in the streets were withered, the triumphal arch had shed its outer skin of painted linen, the planks of it were half pulled down, and the dirt began to accumulate in all parts, in its pristine abundance; the natives lounged about with an expression of having awakened from their dream of empty royalty; the commandante, and bishop of Gallura, had little else to do save to scan, criticise, and compare each word and deed of the royal retinue; and the rest of the puffed up bosoms of the authorities were gradually collapsing from their late inflation.

There is little to be seen in Tempio. The streets are wide for a Sardinian town, but there are few remarkable buildings. Almost all the houses are of a greyish red granite, being the cheapest material, to which a stucco is occasionally added; the largest have rarely more than three stories, and separate families live in each. House-

rent is considered dear, as a suite of five or six rooms of a respectable size lets for £5 or £6 per annum unfurnished.

The Cathedral is a mixture of styles, some evidently of early date ; but in the various repairs and alterations, the modern Italian predominates. It is large and lofty, and the general effect good ; and having been lately whitewashed in honor of the King's visit, was wonderfully clean. The high altar, with a handsome balustrade of coloured marbles, the well carved oak choir, and a new marble pulpit, massive, but somewhat heavy, are the principal objects. The pictures are few, and have little merit.

In 1560, it was merely a collegiate church, dedicated to St. Peter by Gregory XV.; and several applications were made without success to the Holy See to transfer the Bishopric of Civita, (the services of which, virtually, were performed at the Church of St. Simplicius at Terra Nova,) to Tempio. No change, however, took place till 1839, when Gregory XVI. raised the church to the rank of a cathedral (independently of that of Ampurias and Civita), with a dean, twelve canons, to whom another has lately been added, to superintend the musical department, and eighteen "benefiziati," corresponding nearly to our minor canons.

Besides the cathedral, are thirteen churches in the town, and twelve in the environs ; but scarcely any of them are worthy of particular notice, except one which may be interesting from a story attached to it. It was built and dedicated to the "anime del Purgatorio," by Don Giacomo Misorro, an extensive land-proprietor in the Pulchiana district, over which he exercised an unbounded liberty and licence, and followed up his marauding expeditions with a cruelty and vendetta

which made him the dread of the whole neighbourhood. A lawless band of outcasts served him faithfully in all his iniquities ; one of which occurred on the identical spot where this church now stands. A dispute having arisen between him and a rival neighbour, acts of offence and retaliation took place, but no opportunity occurred for a decisive blow till Don Giacomo ascertained that twenty of his adversary's party had started for Tempio on a mission, dangerous in its results to himself. In the course of a few hours he collected a body of his own followers, and at night overtook them in one of the defiles where they had halted. The onset was sudden and short ; eighteen were slain, and of the two that escaped one was retaken and murdered, and the other conveyed to the house of Don Giacomo. But the mere slaughter of them was not sufficient ; he returned in the morning to this human abattoir, and gloating over his mangled victims, leisurely smoked his cigar, and insultingly turned them over and kicked them about. In perfect confidence that law and justice could not touch him he returned home ; but in the course of a few days imagining some danger and treachery in a negotiation he had entered into with the friends of his prisoner, relative to a ransom, he deliberately told him his suspicions, and taking out a pistol shot him through the heart. But impunity, power, and wealth, availed not, against conscience. How dear are its pangs, but how cheap are its indulgences, penitences, alms, oblations, and vows ! Don Giacomo went to Rome and obtained absolution for this and the numberless other enormities weighing on his guilty soul. The legends of Gallura do not state the compromise he entered into there, but he returned to Tempio, and built the church "Del Purgatorio" on the precise spot where he had com-

mitted his wholesale massacre. Under the auspices and thralldom of the priesthood he spent the remainder of his days in masses and confessions; and if they can be considered a virtue, he died like the Corsair, "Linked with one virtue and a thousand crimes."

The cares of the diocese do not give much spiritual trouble to its mitred head, and if his grey hairs are being brought down with sorrow to the grave, they are only blanched by the pecuniary miseries of not getting full tithes, which are said to amount to 3000 scudi, or more than 576*l*. His majesty at his departure reimbursed to him all the expenses he had incurred during his stay at the palace; and at a very early hour in the morning previous to starting, confessed privately to him.

Monastic institutions have not thriven in Tempio. In 1635, a Tempiese bequeathed a sum of money to found a Capucin monastery, but it was applied to other purposes; and in 1690, a Capucin nunnery was established, but the fair recluses subsequently quarrelled among themselves, and if the scandal be true, their philanthropy was of so tender a nature, that eventually the convent was suppressed.

The Jesuits also had an establishment, and the story relative to its suppression, in which a heroine figures as the cause, has been modified by an ecclesiastical historian of the present day; but, according to a less biassed version, a rich and lovely young woman, of well-known family, entertained a partiality for one of the Jesuits, contrary, of course, to the wishes of her parents and friends. One cannot presume to say whether it was priestly, platonic sentiment, or natural honest affection, an unworldly anxiety to have her wealth settled on their institution, or to prevent its falling into worldly hands;

but it is sufficient that another lover, who, *jure parentis*, was betrothed, and *jure suo* much attached to her, was determined to exemplify, by practical experience, to the Jesuits, that which Loyola had theoretically laid down, that "might is right, and right is might." It was late in the evening when our lay hero knocked at the door of the monastery, and having obtained admission, after a short time, he, on some pretext, withdrew, saying that he would return immediately. He did so, but accompanied by nearly 200 men, who immediately seized the Jesuits; and while part of the armed force carried them off, the rest stayed and destroyed the whole of the interior of the building, leaving only the church of St. Giuseppe.

The governor's palace, establishment, and retinue, consist of three rooms on a second story, a female servant, and a sentinel at the door. The appointment is not enviable, in reference either to sinecure or salary, and has only lately been filled up, having been vacant for some time; for it was with some difficulty that any one could be found to undertake it. The expression of a private soldier in England, that "he had leased his life for twenty-one years, to be shot at for a shilling a-day," conveys some idea of part of the life of the late governor of Gallura. It was said that he compromised himself in his office, by tampering with certain parties then at enmity with each other, and being discovered, a complaint was preferred against him; to stifle which, he endeavored to seize and imprison the complainant. A series of acts of injustice and retaliation ensued, and at length the governor received one of the death-warnings peculiar to Sardinia. During the night he heard a pane of glass crack, and on examining it in the morning he found the fatal bullet on the floor. The custom of the

country is, that whenever the vendetta alla morte—revenge even to death, is to be carried out—the party avenging himself shall give his adversary timely notice, by throwing a bullet into his window, that he may either make immediate compensation for the injury or prepare himself for death. The governor for some time used every caution as to when and where he went, but at length disregarded the warning, imagining he was safe. The assassin, however, had watched him with an eagle's eye, and he fell in a moment the least expected. Report further says, that he is not the only governor of Gallura to whom this summary method of obtaining justice or inflicting vengeance has been intimated.

One of my friends in Sardinia has twice received this unmitigated hint. In one case he knew the party who had thrown the ball, and with a consciousness of not having aggrieved the man, but that his hostility arose from a misunderstanding and belief in some false reports, he boldly hunted out his adversary, explained matters, and they immediately were reconciled; and, in a subsequent conversation, he explained the way he intended to have shot my friend. They now live on very good terms, neither of them feeling the slightest inclination to annoy each other, and still less daring to complain of each other to any authority. It is stated that this custom was originally recommended, and at last enforced by the priests, who not having sufficient influence or power to prevent these murders, endeavored to mingle a little charity and honor in them; an evidence that confessions and absolutions availed more than law and justice.

By the census just finished, the population of Tempio amounts to 9941, comprehending the whole of the commune, with the shepherds and dispersed families of

the neighbourhood, who belong to and have their headquarters in the town. They and the agriculturists form by far the greater part of the population. With the exception of working gun-stocks, before alluded to, there are no mechanical employments. The remainder of the male population consists of viandanti and cavalanti, who, if not regularly employed in that occupation, are nevertheless continually travelling about with goods, either on their own account or on that of their friends.

As a population, the Tempiese are strong, athletic, and hardy; their constitution is strengthened by their occupations; a spirit of activity (one of the few exceptions to the general apathetic indolence of the Sardes) induces them to migrate so that they are to be found in almost all the principal towns in the island; and from their industry they are called "Gli Ebrei de Sardegna;" but as they are honest, they may feel more complimented in being stigmatised as "Ebreo della Gallura," than if they were likened to a lazzarone of Cagliari.

In many respects they are like the Galliegos of Spain, whose honesty and high-mindedness, though engaged in laborious and sometimes menial occupations, have reflected such credit on the province to which they belong. The female part of the Tempiese population is no less industrious, honest, and domestic. From their infancy they are inured to hardship, and this, united to the coldness of their climate, accounts for the comparative lateness of life at which they attain maturity; as, generally speaking, they are not nubile till they are fifteen, which, in the fortieth degree of latitude, is a remarkable occurrence. They are well made, but devoid of the prurient and voluptuous fulness of the females of the southern parts of the island.

I could not obtain any exact information as to the number of illegitimate children born in the district, for, forlorn and poor as the mothers might be, or anxious to conceal their disgrace, they nevertheless prefer misery and humiliation to sending their offspring to the miserable hovel in Tempio which is set apart for these most miserable beings. No dog-kennel in England is to be compared to its uncleanly and offensive condition. With but little food, and still less clothing,—with all the sufferings of infantine ailments which, if not entirely neglected, are only increased by the ignorance of the old nurse who has the mismanagement of them, these unfortunate victims present a spectacle at which humanity recoils. It is a pendant picture to the prisons; and, as was remarked on His Majesty's visit to Alghero, it would be worthy of a royal bosom should he at his next visit extend his inspection to matters of gaols and bastardy, as well as of *graminatogjius* and *bersaglios*.

What a difference between this “murder of the innocents,” and the care and attention shewn to them in a country whose monarch, though often accused of hard-heartedness and cruelty, has yet set a noble example to his royal cousin, Carlo Alberto! The Hospital des *Enfans trouvés*, at Moscow, is the finest institution, *sui generis*, in the world; order and cleanliness, with not only the necessaries but the comforts of life, prevail in every department, and the number of children reared, educated, supported, and put out in the world by this establishment, is annually upwards of 30,000. The spectacle I there witnessed, on entering one of the long wards (where a curious vista of 300 nurses, standing in a line, presented itself, each holding her adopted charge), formed a sad contrast to the present one, where some

twenty infants were, almost literally speaking, rotting in their sty.

The morality and policy of encouraging and supporting these institutions, is a separate question. Châteauneuf has well treated the subject in his "*Considerations sur les Enfans trouvés dans les principaux Etats de l'Europe.*" The comparison is here merely made between the humanity and cruelty with which they are respectively conducted in the two countries.

The Tempiese, in regard to their moral and intellectual qualities, are naturally shrewd and clever, and, wherever their talents have been cultivated, have distinguished themselves; but this has depended on education out of their own country. It is only since 1821 that a primary school has been established. It has about 130 pupils, and these, added to about the same number in the gymnasio, give a proportion of about one in thirty-three, educated—to use their expression—in the whole population. The number of those who can positively read is far from that number, nor are there evidences of much literary pursuit or attainment even among those who can, for there are scarcely any books in the place except a small collection in the college of the Scuole Pie.

As far back as the year 1674 and 1688, the Tempiese applied to the Aragon government for a municipality, and repeatedly endeavored, but without success, to obtain it, till about three years since, when Carlo Alberto granted them the long-wished-for boon; but it would be difficult to say what particular advantage has arisen from it, save the gratification of vanity, and of rivalry with the other municipalities. A dash of the pen of the King of Sardinia is a much easier operation than protracted debates and ponderous par-

liamentary reports on municipal corporations in other countries ; but it is very doubtful if the royal grant has not been, by its centralising effects, more injurious than advantageous. It was, however, thankfully received, judging, at least, from the numberless inscriptions in Latin and Italian relative to it, placed in all parts of the town on the arrival of His Majesty, and which quite apotheosised him for the supposed blessing. A handsome uniform for the Syndic is perhaps the king's latent meaning of municipality ; but to the civic authorities themselves, besides the innocent belief in the freedom of their institution, may be added the sentiments of rival dignity similar to those in " Herr Bau-Berg-und-Weg-Inspektors-Substitut Sperling," and " Herr Vice-Kirchen-Vorsteher Staar," in Kotzebue's admirable comedy of " Die Deutschen Kleinstädter." It would be hard to press the comparison between Tempio and Krähwinkel to the good fame of the better halves of the civic authorities, but in Sardinia may also be found a " Frau Ober-Floss-und-Fish-Meisterin Brendel," a " Frau Stadt-Accise-Casse-Schreiberin Morgenroth," and a " Frau Unter-Steuer-Einnehmerin Staar."

The few archives existing in the town are mostly Papal ordinances, and others relative to church matters, the greater part of modern date and of little interest on general points of history.

Tempio, from its high situation and exposure to the winds, is exempt from intemperie, and healthy, though cold and slightly subject to humidity from its proximity to the cloud-catching tops of the Limbara, which puts on its diadem of snow in November and does not lay it aside till April ; but in the summer the heat is intense, from the refraction of the granite.

My time allowed me to make but a slight acquaintance with the Limbara monarch—to have accepted his “sub Jove frigido” hospitality, and have known all the minor branches of his family,—his snows, his crags and precipices, his fountains and his glens. This magnificent granitic mountain decreases on the north side by successive minor ranges till it reaches the coast; but on the south is very precipitous, and rises suddenly out of the plain. The Punta Balestieri, the highest point is 4396 feet above the level of the sea; the ascent and descent are an easy day’s work, and the fatigue is well repaid by the magnificent view, though it is not as extended as the height induces one to believe, for the intermediate hills intercept the view of the sea on the Alghero and Terra Nova coasts; and the Goceano and Gennargentu ranges, to the south-west and south, close in the land view.

The numerous streams and fountains give a freshness and verdure to parts of the mountains, striking the eye forcibly by the comparison with the cold bleak granite, and man seems to have availed himself of every cultivable patch of ground.

A small waterfall of about thirty feet called “Il Pisciarèni,” is the weathergauge of the district, for, on a still, quiet day, the sound of it may be heard at Tempio; and when it becomes loud, is the harbinger of approaching bad weather. Another fountain, called Fanzoni, is said to be so cold at certain seasons that it breaks the glass into which it is poured, and that wine will lose its colour if immersed in it for a few hours.

The Punta Balestieri derives its name from a tribe celebrated for their opposition some years since to the noblesse, in their unwarrantable power over their serfs and the lower orders. One of the barons, enamoured

of a daughter of one of the Balestieri, used every means to obtain possession of her ; but failing by persuasion and promise of marriage, he made proposals which not only tended to increase her abhorrence of him, but obliged her to call in her father to her assistance. An altercation ensued ; both parties vowed vendetta, and the noble suitor was shot before he reached home. The noblesse made common cause against the murderer and his tribe, not so much for the individual case as for the attack on their privileged class ; and the serfs and peasants, on the other hand, enrolled themselves to defend their lives and property, under the title of Balestieri.

Many were the expeditions against each other, and the noblesse having failed in many of their minor encounters, determined on one grand effort, to drive their enemies out of their haunts to the summit of the mountain, and there exterminate them. Having scoured the glens and gorges in the lower part of the Limbara, they were ascending a narrow and precipitous defile in the silence of a dark night, when a voice suddenly broke on their ears,—“ *Eccomi*,”—Here am I. It was the shout of the father who had saved his daughter’s honor at the risk of his own life ; and from the ambush in which he and his companions had concealed themselves, a galling and destructive fire was instantaneously poured on their adversaries. They all fell, the pass was covered with their bodies ; and so great was the slaughter that almost every noble family in Tempio had to mourn the loss of one of their relations.



CHAPTER VI.

Excursion to Castel Doria.—Monte Spina.—Conversation with Shepherds.—Account of the Castle.—Valley of the Coghinias.—Ampurias.—Mineral Waters.—Unsophisticated Baths.—Swine.—Bortigiadas.—Cork Roofs.—Agius.—Monte Cucaro.—Anecdotes of Fuorusciti.—Forests.—Villages of Calangianus, Nuches, and Luras.—Orchil.—Nitre.—Noraghe Nuracu Maiori.—Sepulture.—Castello di Balaiana.—Luras.—Search for Perdas Fittas, and Conversation with Guide.—Sepultura.—Granite Rocks.—Sedum.—Monte Santu and Legend.—Logu Santu.—Forests.—Shepherd's Hut.—Crossing to the Island of La Madalena.—Straits of Bonifacio.—Mezzo schiffo, or Agincourt Sound.—Lord Nelson's Remarks.—Longone or Longo Sardo.—History.—Corsairs.—Piedmontese Colony.—Ancient Tibula.—Islands of Caprera, Biscie, Capo del Orso.—Capo della Testa.—Granite used by the Romans and Pisans.—Island of La Madalena.—Sarde Navy.—The Inhabitants.—Occupations.—Churches.—Healthiness.—Absence of Crime.—Trade and Shipping.—The Town bombarded by Buonaparte.—Anecdote of him and General Cesari.—His Retreat.—Lord Nelson's favourite Station in 1803-4.—His Statements and Opinions relative to these Harbours, and the Importance of Sardinia.—His gifts to the Church.—Emma Liona.—Refutation of Scandal.—Popularity of the Fleet.—Remarks.

THE path from Tempio to Castel Doria winds over high hills, mostly covered with cystus, arbutus, laurel, and myrtle, delicious in perfume and beauty, and forming an excellent cover for the wild boars and capreoli which abound there. The view from the Monte Spina is extensive and fine, embracing the hoary head of Monte Rotondo in Corsica, the islands of La Madalena,

Caprera, and the minor groups to the north-east; towards the south the Limbaro forms a perfect wall; the hills of Osilo and Nulvi bound the west, and the island of Asinara, to the north-west, encloses the bay of Torres, terminating the panorama.

The descent into the plain of the river Coghinias from a mountain clothed with ilex, cork, and olive, through gorges and dells apparently impassable, is the perfection of forest scenery; and it is only through occasional viste that the remains of Castel Doria are visible.

In ascending from the valley of the river I happened to stop at a "stazza," or hut, and after the usual salutations the father of the little clan offered me his store of "*mazzafrisa*" and "*brociu*,"—preparations of milk,—and begged to accompany me to the castle. He did so, and having ascertained from my guide that I was neither a spy nor an enemy, he asked me what induced me to come all the way from Terra Ferma to see those old ruins, which were so bad that he could not even drive his pigs into them in safety and comfort. Had we no better castelli in Terra Ferma? Was it true that the king had come to Sardinia? Did he want to see the castello also! Did he live in one like it? Had I come to search for any of the treasures which were concealed there? He had never found any, though he had dug according to what he had heard, and what Padre —— had read of in his book! It is needless to give my answers to these and similar questions; but on asking him why he had not grafted the wild olive and pear trees which were growing uselessly in the neighbourhood, assuring him that if he did so he would be well repaid in the course of ten years, he replied with a contemptuous smile, "How do I know that that will be of any good to me. It is all very well for you to tell me so,

but you are of Terra Ferma, and do all kinds of odd things! How do you know that I should gain anything for it in ten years? My father never did it or told me to do it, and I don't believe Padre —— has ever read of it in his book." With such and similar conversation we ascended the hill, on which are these relics of the bye-gone glories of the house of Doria. The castle stands about 800 feet above the level of the sea, and up to a certain point, the ascent may be made on any side; but at about 200 feet from the summit the hill rises almost perpendicularly on three sides, resembling the rock and chateau of Foix in the south of France.

The narrow and steep path which leads up to the castle, on the only accessible side, is so encumbered with shrubs and fallen stones of the building that the ascent is difficult.

The date of the foundation of the castle is unknown; but in 1354, Pedro of Aragon gave orders for it to be repaired and kept in a proper state of defence against the attacks of the Genoese, who at that time had possession of Castel Sardo. In 1356 it was held by Matteo Doria, and on his death the king conferred it on Branca-leone Doria, by whose successors it was held until the fifteenth century, when it was taken and re-taken by the various factions, and eventually fell into ruins while in the possession of the Kings of Spain. Nature was the architect of the outer walls of this venerable and romantic ruin, the remains of which are sufficient to prove that it was almost impregnable, and only a vague idea can be now formed of its internal plan and subdivision. A quadrangular, though not rectangular, tower about ninety-five feet high, and made of blocks of dark sand-stone, still stands, and shews specimens of fine chisalling; but there are no remains of arms or ornamental

work in any part of the building. The upper part has crumbled away, and the winged tenantry, its sole occupiers, are continually loosening the stones, by building their nests in the interstices. The interior was divided into stories, but there was no possibility of ascending, as the stones of the staircase have fallen in. It was evidently the keep of the castle, and the dungeon beneath is still extant, as well as a subterranean reservoir of water about twenty-two feet long by sixteen wide and twelve deep, with pipes, or rather cement passages, through which the water flowed.

The view from the basement proves how splendid a stronghold it must have been some six centuries ago, when its possessors were the lords of the villages then existing in the plain beneath, and whose power kept the whole coast in awe. How much more a ruin of this character, in all its lowliness and dilapidation, carries one back to the days of romantic chivalry, than those in Hungary, on the Rhine, and in other parts, where mankind has changed the whole face of surrounding nature!

The river Coghinas, after passing the gorge of Castel Doria, meanders through a plain of considerable extent, and in which the small portions that are cultivated shew the richness of the soil and abundance of the produce. The whole district is remarkable for its natural fertility, but the want of drainage in the pastures bordering on the river, and of cultivation of the other lands, has rendered it very unhealthy.

The scanty population consists of shepherds and agriculturists, from Sadini, Bulzi, and Castel Sardo, and their squalid, pale, emaciated figures and countenances testify the ravages of intemperie and fever. In one of their hovels were seven individuals, five of whom were suffering from ague. A small fire in the centre of

the hut seemed their only solace, and around it were collected the nearly naked children, whose enormously swollen stomachs, long dirty hair, wildness of expression, and apparent insensibility to every thing but suffering, formed a horrifying scene.

The plain of the Coghinas had formerly a large population, but all traces of it have disappeared. Ampurias, called also De Flumen, a town of considerable importance in the twelfth century, was the bishopric of the diocese, but its position has not been satisfactorily ascertained, nor are there any interesting or important remains of the other villages. In the gorge formed by Monte Rosso, and the hill on which the Castel Doria is situated, are the mineral baths of the Coghinas. The north side of the river is overhung by rocks covered with shrubs, which, descending to the water's edge, are there reflected in the deep and tranquil parts of the stream. The south side is less precipitous, admitting of a pathway amid the stones and trees, and terminating in a sandy shore, which extends by the side of the river for about 160 yards, varying in width from five to thirty yards. A slight vapour arises from the part nearest the water, and the heat of the sands increases as one approaches. The surface was perfectly dry, but on scraping up a handful in various parts, the water arose in the cavity, so warm that it was difficult to bear the hand in it. I commenced undressing with the intention of bathing, and ascertaining if there was any neutral ground separating the territories of the hot and cold water spirits, but was soon obliged to relinquish my attempt. The heat of the dry sand on which I stood compelled me to hop about ; but calculating on finding the water of a cooler temperature, I dipped my foot into it, as a prelude to a plunge. The surface

was exceedingly cold, but before touching the bottom, though not above two feet deep, I was almost scalded by the water and broiled by the sand, and my retreat was most precipitous, vowing never more to

“Come unto these yellow sands,”

and

“Foot it featly here and there.”

The source of these hot springs has never been ascertained, but their position and copious supply are evident from the extent of surface heated by them, and the line of demarcation is also strongly indicated by a fountain of pure fresh water springing out of the rocks in the immediate neighbourhood. According to an analysis, they are found to contain sulphate of lime, sulphate of magnesia, muriate of lime, muriate of soda, and silex.

As these “*acque minerali e termali*” are much frequented and celebrated, one naturally looked about for the means and appliances for taking them. The situation reminded me of many other mineral baths; Clifton, Karlsbad, with its Drei Kreutzberg, the Helenenthal of the Viennese, Baden, the countless Badens of Western Germany, the Eaux of the Pyrenees, and many others rose before me with clear visions of pump-rooms, glasses on marble slabs, walks, drives, libraries, roulette, and rouge et noir tables; but the blue sky, the mountains, and the river were the only realities, and as to the non-existent baths, they must be described as if a patient were about to take them. He arrives here with his fortnight’s provisions, and immediately occupies himself in cutting a quantity of boughs, shrubs, and long sticks out of the adjoining woods, and with them erects a hut, which “serves for parlour, for kitchen and

all." He reserves, however, a certain quantity of timber for building his bath-shed, which he commences by placing four upright and four horizontal poles in that part of the sand of which the temperature is most agreeable to him. Having intertwined some shrubs, he then excavates the interior, making unto himself a grave, some seven feet long by three wide ; the vacuum of the sand is immediately filled by the mineral water, and as it is continually flowing, and of a regular temperature, the bath is always ready, fresh, and equal. It is not necessary to describe his dressing-rooms, process of warming linen, exclusion of cold air, &c. ; such things would be to him but wasteful and ridiculous excess ; they would be luxuries as unnecessary as they are unknown, even were he dying of intemperie, fever, ague, or acute rheumatism.

Such is positively the sole method of taking the waters ; and the enigma of the matter is, that their efficacy is still vaunted, instead of the remedy being considered worse than the disease. I had luxuriated in the Hamam of the East, the transition baths in Russia, from the extreme of heat to cold, had been mollified by bains à son, bains de voyageur, bains à la Chinoise, and various other purifications, but I could not venture on a "bain à sable."

Having ascended the hill overhanging the sands to a retired and shady spot, my siesta there was disturbed by the rustling of a herd of swine rushing down the mountain amid the rocks and shrubs. On arriving at the bottom, they followed the edge of the river till they reached the hottest part of the sand, when a general halt ensued, and they divided off into parties, as if by some family or medical arrangement ; some plunging into the hottest part of the water, others taking a compromise bath—a mezzo termine between hot water and

hot sand ; a few dug up holes with their noses, and there wallowed, rolled, and revelled, while such as did not bathe at all, contented themselves with drinking the water.

It is thus far evident, that at the baths of Castel Doria quadrupeds fare equally well with bipeds. They avoided the other parts of the shore, and sniffed out, and chose this particular spot ; there was a kind of confabulation among themselves, resembling in sound the murmuring, scolding, and grumbling of children, but clearly expressive of pleasure and satisfaction ; and, after they had duly performed their respective acts of potation and ablution, they leisurely returned up the hill, close by me, and on discovering me rushed precipitately into the thickets.

From the herds of swine being allowed to roam about in the woods, their breed is intermixed by the wild boars, which they consequently much resemble ; so much so, that it was difficult to distinguish those in the bathing party from their semi-domesticated companions.

These particulars might strengthen the probability of the truth of the legend, relative to the discovery of the mineral waters at Bath, by Bladud and his pigs.

The village of Bortigiadas, exquisitely situated on the summit of one of the ranges to the south-west of Tempio, commands a splendid view of the valleys and surrounding country. It takes its name from Oltiju, or Oltigada, meaning cork, because the roofs of the houses are covered with it instead of tiles or straw, and everything in the village corresponds with this primitive state of simplicity and wretchedness. The population amounts to 1681, with an increase of only sixty-three in four years ; the small number being accounted

for, as in many other villages, by the unhealthiness of the spot, and the disappearance of those who, from vendetta and other crimes, are obliged to retire to the mountains.

Agius, another miserable village, containing in itself and its extensive commune about 2,300 souls, is situated to the north-west of Tempio, and offers nothing to interest the traveller but the wild scenery. The population is chiefly pastoral, and their wild nomad life is not entirely divested of those characteristics by which it was formerly distinguished, robbery and vendetta. The notoriety of the latter has given a bad character to the whole district, for the name of every mountain is associated with that of some outcast chief and his followers.

The Monte Cucaro, Monte Fraili, the Tummeu Soza, and other spots, are consecrated to the memory of departed heroes; and the various stories of their exploits would form an entertaining Gallura Newgate Calendar.

Since 1819 the government has, to a great extent, succeeded in quelling the Agiese atrocities; the coiners of false money no longer carry on their traffic on the Monte Fraili, or Mountain of the Forge, though it still retains its name; but a large cavern, and spring of water, called "Il sorgente dei banditi," known as having been the haunt and workshop of the offenders, is not entirely forsaken by the outlaws of the present day.

The district between Agius and the shore is no longer scoured by the bands of a Mammia, a Malu, a Biancu, or Addis, who, at the commencement of the present century, continually defeated the government troops; nor has Monte Cucaro been lately the scene of

an attack, when eighty of them were destroyed in one fell swoop by a party of these marauding mountaineers.

Notwithstanding their rebellious and vindictive spirit, the Agiese are remarkable for their kindness, hospitality, industry, and temperance. Should an adversary be found in distress, or in a position where it would not be honorable, according to their notions, to attack him, they will render him every assistance in their power. Their respect for strangers is no less strong, as may be shewn by a circumstance which happened to one of my friends.

In passing over the mountains from Tempio to Longene, he fell in with five or six fuorusciti, who, after the usual questions, finding that he was a stranger in the country, offered to escort him a few miles on his road for "security." According to his narration of the story, he could not at all comprehend the meaning of their expression, for the fact of finding himself completely at the mercy of six men, any one of whom might, could, or would, in an instant have deprived him of life, gave him very different ideas as to the usage of the word. In thanking them for their offer he elicited their interpretation of the phrase, and was not a little amused and comforted by their assurance that the proffered security consisted in delivering him safely into the hands of the very party with whom they were waging deadly warfare. "*Incidit in Scyllam qui vult vitare Charybdim*," thought my friend; but having no alternative, he accepted their offer, and, after partaking of an excellent breakfast with them, they all proceeded onwards. For three hours they continued their slow and cautious march through defiles to which he was a perfect stranger; and while in conversation

with them on matters totally unconnected with the dangers of the place, they made a sudden and simultaneous halt. Closing in together, a whispering conference ensued among them, and as my friend was excluded from it, he began to suspect he had been ensnared by the offer of escort, and that the fatal moment had arrived when he was to fall their dupe and victim. His suspicions were increased by seeing one of the party ride forward, and leave his companions in still closer confabulation ; but the suspense, though painful, was short, for in a few minutes he returned, and an explanation of this mysterious halt and secrecy took place. It appeared that the keen eyes and ears of his friends had perceived their foes, who were concealed in the adjoining wood, and that, having halted, one of them had gone as ambassador with a flag of truce, and negotiated an armistice for his safe escort. My friend parted from his first guard of banditi with all their blessings on his head, and having traversed a space of neutral ground, was received by the second with no less kindness, and treated with no less honorable protection. They accompanied him till he was safely out of their district, assuring him that his accidental arrival and demand on their mutual honor and hospitality, did not at all interfere with their dispute and revenge ; and that if they were to meet each other the minute after they had discharged their duty of safely escorting him, they would not be deterred by what had happened, from instantaneously shedding each other's blood.

This scene took place in the forest of Cinqu-Denti, or "five teeth," a tract of several miles in extent, said to contain upwards of 100,000,000 trees and shrubs, principally oak, ilex, and cork, with an underwood of arbutus and lentiscus ; and such is the thickness of the

foliage that the sunbeams and the foot of man are said never to have entered many parts of it. Its value is but slightly known, though certain portions have been leased out on very low terms.

The villages of Calangianus, Nuches, and Luras, are of a similar character to those previously described, and have no object of intrinsic interest. The cheerful exterior of the hovels, built of the variously-colored granites of the district, sadly contrasts with the squalid misery of the interior; but the traveller, however, will enjoy a ride in the surrounding country, for the wildness and beauty of the scenery. The woods abound in muffloni, deer, and wild boar, and the streams are equally rich in fish; but the practice of throwing the "lua"—a poisonous herb—into the water to stupify the fish, is so prevalent, that it affects and occasionally kills the cattle which drink of the stream.

The Oricella, known to us as the Orchil in its natural, and Litmus in its prepared state, grows in great abundance in this district of Gallura, and is called "Pietra Lana," and "Erba Tramontana." Not being acquainted with this lichen beyond its general character, and the uses to which it is applied, namely, in dyeing and pharmacy, as the roccella tinctoria, I am not able to give the name of the species growing here; but from recollection of the plant in the northern part of the island of Madeira, where it fetched from 150*l.* to 190*l.* per ton, this is equal both in size and quantity. Scarcely any is used by the people, but a merchant at Cagliari is the principal person engaged in its collection,—for the firm of Messrs. Mackintosh at Glasgow. As orchil, when scarce in the English market, will fetch 400*l.* per ton, the abundance in Sardinia may be worth the attention of those engaged in that branch of commerce.

I did not hear the price of gathering it in Gallura, in which employment upwards of 500 peasants are engaged, but in the Nuoro districts they collect it for four or five scudi the cantar Sarde, or from about 18*l.* 8*s.* 10½*d.* to 23*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* per ton ; and in the Barbagia province about 800 cantars are collected at about three scudi the cantar or about 18*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* per ton.

In many of the natural caverns, used as shelter for flocks, a stratum of fine light earth about a foot deep is laid, which, when well saturated by their excrements, is mixed with cinders. It is then wetted, and the liquid obtained from it, when crystalised, produces nitre, which is taken to Cagliari to be refined, and then gives thirty to thirty-five per cent. The shepherds, who thus make it, collect upwards of 150 tons per annum.

On the road from Tempio to Nuches is the Noraghe Nuracu Maiori. The exterior wall, though in a good state, is not more than eighteen feet high, but the height in the centre over the chamber is twenty-seven feet ; the diameter at the base is seventy-eight, and in the upper part sixty-eight feet. The position of the chambers is the only peculiar feature. From the centre domed one, which is ten feet six inches in diameter at its base and sixteen feet high, is a passage four feet six inches high by five feet two inches wide, leading to another chamber thirteen feet six inches high and eleven feet in diameter at its base ; and adjoining it, is an oblong chamber seven feet six inches high, four feet six inches wide, and eight feet long. Some of the stones, especially the architraves of the passages, are from seven to nine feet long, two to four feet high, and the same in width. In a tanca called Coxiu, near the Monte di Deu, are some immense stones and remains of Sepulture de is Gigantes ; but I was unable to visit them.

In the neighbourhood of Luras, a village remarkable only for the industry of its inhabitants, are large caverns in the rocks called "concas," the most renowned of which are the Conca de Pabadalzu, Monti-alsu, and Juanne Porcu. Numberless legends are attached to them by the shepherds, who use them as habitations and penfolds in their wanderings.

A few miles from this village, situated on the summit of the San Leonardo, stand the ruins of the Castello de Balaiana, of whose history little is known, but the earliest mention of it occurs in 1147, when all the Giudici of Sardinia were convened at Bonarcado, to settle the disputes then existing between Constantino, Giudice of Gallura, and a noble family named Comita Spano, who claimed possession of it. The remains of the castle are few, its greatest side being only about 50 feet; though its outlines and fortifications are extensive and include a small chapel and cistern. As a ruin it is not to be compared with that of Castel Doria.

One of my principal objects in visiting Luras was to see a Pietra Fitta, and some Sepoltura de is Gigantes in the vicinity; but I was disappointed in the result, and it was one of the many instances of the difficulty which a traveller will meet with in finding these monuments. Not one of the many individuals to whom I applied knew anything about their locality, though they told me the names of at least a hundred "Runaghe,"—the Luresinchian pronunciation of the word Noraghe; but on addressing one who was superintending some ploughing in a field, and putting the questions to him, he would not allow me to finish my description of a Sepoltura, but, interrupting me with the assurance that he knew it well, said that if I would only go on to his house in Luras, and there wait for him, he would

speedily follow, and then accompany me. Congratulating myself on my good fortune, I proceeded to his house, where his family, with the usual hospitality and politeness, offered me whatever they had ; and between these ceremonies and lionising the village, the time passed very agreeably till my padrone-cicerone arrived. We started together, and it was in vain to attempt to hedge in a few words relative to the objects of my search ; they were all stopped by his assurance that he knew all about it, and would shew it all to me. The conversation turned upon what I wanted to do with, or to know about the old stones, why the Signori of Terra Ferma cared about such things, with a series of similarly amusing questions, and we proceeded about two miles, when he suddenly drew up, and exclaimed " *Eccola, Signore, la Sepoltura dei Giganti!*" My assertions that the object he shewed me was a Noraghe, and nothing but a Noraghe, were of no avail, and it was equally a waste of words, when my cavallante interpreted into Sarde, word for word, the description of the Sepoltura. I gave him the form, the height, and width, and other particulars from a memorandum which had been given me ; but these minutiae only produced a shrug of the shoulder, a projecting pout of the lower lip, an up-raising of the eyebrow, and an expansion of the hands, all conveying the reply that what was written might be very learned and true, but that he knew much better than any such authorities. This interpretation of his gestures was borne out by his assertion that a " *Run-aghe*" was a " *Sepoltura de is Gigantes ;*" and holding the converse of the proposition with equal pertinacity, he commenced a series of remarks which would probably have terminated in his telling me the foundation of, and the name of the giant who inhabited the said

Noraghe. There are said to be several Sepulture at the foot of the Pulchiana range known to some of the pastori of the districts; but as all my further inquiries were equally unsuccessful, I can only give the account of them as obtained from other sources.

They vary in length from 60 to 100 feet, and are from 4 to 7 feet wide. One of the stones in the sides is 17 feet long, and another resting vertically on them, and covering the intermediate space, is about 5 yards long, 2 feet 7 inches deep, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ yards wide.

In the Siulonis district is a collection of large stones, forming an arc, in the centre of which is one about 6 feet high, embedded in the ground; from whence it is called Pietra Fitta by the people.

After crossing the Gemini Plain, on the road towards Parao, (the point of embarkation for and opposite to the island of La Madalena,) the path lay for several hours among granitic rocks. From decomposition and masses falling in chaotic confusion, caverns and recesses are formed of considerable size; and the shepherds, as at Luras, have not failed to attribute their formation to the giants. In several instances continuous chambers were formed by these detached masses, some of which measured 80 feet long, 60 broad, and as many in height. In the interstices and crevices, shrubs and plants of various kinds were blooming in richest verdure, and among them the *Sedum Heptadalum* by its peculiarly bright, rosy tint, gave a warmth and beautiful contrast to the cold surface where it grew. It seemed to be a different species of the plant generally found on mountains, and is here used by the natives as a specific for sores and scrofulous complaints. The quality and variety of the granite are very remarkable; the clear white quartz, the red and

yellow felspar, the dark green horn-blende, and the black mica varying in beautiful brightness ; and within the space of half a mile one may obtain all the different colored granites which the predominance of such ingredients produces.

Monte Santu, overhanging the village of Logu Santu, is the Mecca of the Gallurese. To those not possessing a requisite share of devotion, the "religio loci" does not offer a sufficient inducement to make a pilgrimage to it ; but the traveller having any devotion to the works of nature, will be amply repaid by the magnificent view which the mountain commands over the whole country, as well as by the intrinsic beauty of the position of the village. At the summit of the mountain is a small chapel, scarcely visible amid the dark verdure of the forest in which it is concealed ; and it has nothing to compensate for a very steep ascent, except the charm of its situation. Before entering the village we should hear a little of the legend which has sanctified it, and forms so conspicuous a part in the religious creed of the people.

The Sarde historians and ecclesiastics have found the subject a fruitful source of discussion and inquiry, and, amid all the contradictory accounts, it is difficult to discover which is the least absurd.

Without questioning the veracity of one of the statements,—that Logu Santu derived its name from St. Paul having preached there, we may merely take the substance of a document written in Sarde, and addressed by the archbishop to the ecclesiastical corps in the year 1519.* Two Franciscan monks happened to be at Jerusalem, and while there, the Virgin Mary appeared to them in a dream, and commanded them to go to Sar-

* Gemelli, Annales, ii pp. 34—51.

dinia ;—assuring them that in a certain secluded wood in Gallura they would find the bodies of St. Nicholas and St. Trano, who were anchorites and martyrs about the year A.D. 362. The Virgin then disappeared, the monks came to Monte Santu, and found the bodies in 1219, and by the contributions of the pious, built three churches, one to the Virgin, and two to the saints.

From that period the holiness of this place has been as thoroughly acknowledged as the reality of the bones. In recompense for the miraculous revelation, three Feste, the most important in Gallura, are celebrated in honor of the Virgin, and of the Sts. Nicholas and Trano, on which occasions all the neighbouring communes march in procession with their banners and music, headed by the canons and dignitaries of the cathedral of Tempio ; and after the usual religious ceremonies the fasting and praying are converted into feasting and dancing. The village, consisting of some thirty or forty little cottages, is surrounded by a wall in a ruined state. The space enclosed was formerly deemed so holy, that no animal was allowed to go inside the gates, “nemmeno un-polastro,” as the civil and hospitable curé told me ; but the sanctity of bones has been succeeded by the impiety of the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the field, various kinds of which were wandering over the Terra Santa with perfect impunity.

The parochial church, small and clean, is remarkable for its portico with little columns and arches. Its foundation may be dated about the middle of the thirteenth century ; but it has been added to and altered from time to time. The two other churches dedicated to St. Nicholas and St. Trano are small ruins and not worth inspection ; “meschinissime cappelluccie,” as they are rightly called ; and the Franciscan convent, once fa-

mous for its endowments, has disappeared. Without feeling the transports of the Sarde historian, Gemelli, who calls the village, "*locum, inquam, vere sanctum, sanctitatemque undique redolentem*," "a spot which I may call truly holy, and redolent with holiness, all around," the traveller will be charmed with its natural beauty and scenery.

My path towards Parao was through forests of cork, ilex, and oak, interspersed with the usual underwood of myrtle and arbutus, so extensive that their contents are not ascertained either by the government, the proprietors, or by those who rent them for cutting the timber.

The arbutus and erica in many instances rivalled the forest trees, constantly measuring fifty feet high and twelve in circumference, and finer in their general character than those so celebrated in the north part of the island of Madeira. The erica arborea is particularly abundant, and the other species seemed to be countless. Nothing could be more exquisite than the mixture of the dark tints of the trees with the varied hues of these and other shrubs, and the glens and ravines were all that the poet and painter could conjure up in the most fanciful reveries.

"Here waving groves a chequered scene display,
And part admit, and part exclude the day.
As some coy nymph her lover's warm address,
Nor quite indulges nor can quite repress.
There interspersed in lawns and opening glades,
The trees arise that shun each other's shades."

After crossing a very extensive plain, and following the valley and watercourse of the Liscia, on the sides of which the oleander, daphne, and asphodel were growing in wildest luxuriance, I halted at the cottage of a shep-

herd who had just returned home after an absence of three days in the mountains with his flocks, and found a stranger at his door praying for the love of God, and by the sighs of the Virgin Mary, to give him and his four companions then at Parao something to eat. He had nothing to give them—not even a loaf of bread ; and as for a lamb or kid for roasting, he had left his flocks some ten miles distant. The hungry applicant had been two days and two nights without bed, board, or lodging, on the shore of Parao, waiting with his companions to pass over to La Madalena, but the wind had been so violent in the straits that the boat had been prevented crossing from that island to fetch them. Imagining that a similarly miserable existence might be my own lot, if the wind continued as adverse as it then was, I inquired of the shepherd if he could give me a shelter and a mouthful in case of being obliged to return from Parao, and he having promised to procure me whatever he could, I proceeded onwards to the shore. On approaching it, the famished individuals, who seemed to have scented my provisions from afar, came up to me, and the silent thankfulness with which they devoured the portions I gave them, was very expressive. The system of signalling for a boat between Parao and La Madalena is by bonfires composed of the wild shrubs, and lighted at certain points on the respective coasts. The signal had been burning without being answered, and had only served the party for warming themselves ; but while we were talking and calculating the chances of having to wait twenty-four hours more till the wind abated, we espied a sail. As soon as it was recognised to be the passage-boat coming over for us, a vigorous assault took place on the rest of the provisions, there being no occasion for thought for the

morrow. The remaining cold fried trout, the bones of lamb, and the last drop of my little barrel of wine, were finished as the boat touched the Parao shore ; and congratulating ourselves in bumpers on our excessive good luck, we embarked, and in half an hour were across the little channel.

Before speaking of La Madalena, it may be as well to take a slight survey of the coast and the adjacent islands. The straits of Bonifacio were known to the Greeks by the name of Taphros, and to the Romans as the Fossa Fretum, from its being a deep trench between Corsica and Sardinia ; but the similar granitic formation of the southern coast of Corsica, of the northern coast of Gallura, and of the intermediate group of islands, is an evidence that they were once all united. So little were these islands thought of, that it was only about the year 1760 that the French and Sardinian governments agreed to send joint arbitrators to determine their possession ; and it was done by taking a visual line from east to west equidistant between Capo Lo Sprono, in Corsica, and Capo Falcone in Sardinia ; all on the north of the line being adjudicated to the former, and all south of it to the latter. The distance between the two Capes is about ten miles.

Among the many hydrographical surveys of the coast, those of the Hon. Captain Finch, in 1788, two made by Captain Ryves, in 1802 and 1803, and corrected by Lord Nelson, were the earliest of any importance, and it was from this latter that the chart in the Hydrographic Office, dated February, 1804, was made. Another was subsequently undertaken by Captain Hurd. Captain Smyth, in his chart of 1827, does not indicate all the positions by name, however exact he may have been in his soundings and outlines. The French map

of the Island of Corsica, by Captain Hill, published at Paris at the *Depôt général de la Marine* in 1831, comprehends in it this part of the northern coast of Sardinia, and next to that, by *La Marmora*, is by far the clearest and most detailed.

Agincourt sound, or as it is otherwise called, and perhaps better known, *Mezzo Schiffo*, is sheltered by the islands of *Sparagi*, *La Madalena*, *St. Stefano*, and *Caprera*, and stands south-west of the town of *La Madalena*. The *Arsachena* sound to the south-east of *Agincourt*, is not considered as good a roadstead, the former having twenty-one and the latter not above sixteen to eighteen fathoms; but in both places there is an abundance of wood and excellent fresh water. The N. W. winds prevail three quarters of the year in the Straits of Bonifacio, and are at times dangerous from their violence and suddenness, and the current then runs from two to three and a half knots. I passed through the straits during one of these squalls, and, to quote the words of Lord Nelson under similar circumstances, "It looked tremendous from the number of rocks, and the heavy seas breaking over them, but it is perfectly safe when once known." Claudian gave a similar description of it 1400 years ago:—

"Quæ respicit arcton
Immitis, scopulosa, procax subitisque sonora
Flatibus; insanos infamat navita montes." *

The small and poor port of Longone has lost all its former interest and importance. Its population, amounting to nearly 900, is composed mostly of viandanti and fishermen, the latter of whom find that the contraband trade gives a more valuable return than their nets. Early in the fourteenth century the Aragonese placed

* *De Bello Gild.* v. 511.

a colony here, and built the castle of Longone on the side of the harbour at the extreme west end of the Monte Caresi. The remains shew an irregularity of construction ; most of its sides, about 200 feet long, having been built according to the natural inclination of the ground, while the part towards the harbour takes the form of an arc of about 75° . The first mention made of this castle is in 1388, when it was claimed by the Giudicessa Eleonora, on her victory in conjunction with the Gallurese, over the Aragonese. It is stated to have remained in the possession of the King of Aragon, though the Longonese affirm that a stone formerly existed in the castle on which, with other words, was engraved the name of Eleonora ; and that the Ulese carried it off to La Madalena. In 1391 a fresh Aragonese colony arrived at Longone, and occupied it till 1410, though constantly besieged and the scene of many severe conflicts. In that year Cassiano Doria, then lord of Castel Genovese, joined Artaldo di Alagon in blockading it, and eventually obliged the inhabitants to capitulate. The Aragonese, alarmed at their loss,—for at this period Longone was a very important stronghold, and place of commerce,—resolved on its recovery ; but though Alfonso regained possession of it in 1420, it was taken two years afterwards by Francesco Spinola, who sacked it and carried off an immense booty to Genoa. Alfonso having subsequently made himself master of it, to prevent a recurrence of these attacks ordered the castle and fortifications to be demolished. This was done in 1433, leaving only what is visible at the present day. In 1657 we find Longone bravely defended by a Giovanni Galluresu against the attacks of the Corsairs ; and the Viceroy of Sardinia, to reward him for his courage and skill in having killed upwards

of fifty of them with his own hand, appointed him alcalde or governor of the place ; but from disputes, and consequent homicides and vendetta, he was obliged to fly to the mountains, where he soon collected a large band of associates, who not only put to flight and destroyed the government troops, but infested the city of Sassari, and so harassed the inhabitants that they could not venture beyond the walls. His life became a sacrifice to jealousy and vendetta, arising from an intrigue with the daughter of a miller residing at Osilo. His steps were closely watched ; and it having been discovered that he was to visit her on a certain evening, her house was surrounded during the night with a number of his enemies, under the command of his rival, and on his departure at daybreak they fired a tremendous volley into him. His body—perfectly riddled—was seized, and after receiving every insult from his rival, his head was carried to Sassari, where it was fixed on a pole and exposed.

In 1810 a Piedmontese colony was sent to Longone, and, to commemorate the event, the name of the port and town was to be changed to Villa Teresa, in compliment to Maria Teresa, the wife of Vittorio Emanuele, then King of Sardinia ; but the change was unacceptable, and the natives still keep the name of Longone in preference to either Longo Sardo or Villa Teresa. The colony succeeded very well under their newly appointed governor, till an alteration in the public pasture lands of the district, affecting the customary privileges and liberties of the shepherds, caused so strong a feeling against him, that he eventually fell a victim to their vendetta.

The ancient Tibula is supposed to have been near the head of the harbour of Longone, a site which cor-

responds with the distances given by Ptolemy. Many sepulchral and numismatic antiquities excavated in these parts have proved the existence of a Roman settlement, the coins bearing the dates of the republic till the Emperor Probus about 276, A. D.

Off the Vignola and Isola Rossa shores is an excellent coral fishery, in which there are annually about twenty Neapolitan and five Genoese boats engaged.

The island of Caprera, deriving its name either from a similitude in shape or from the former existence of the wild goat in it, is a mass of rock to the east of La Madalena, with a peak rising nearly 800 feet high, and several well-sheltered little bays, from which the Neapolitan fishermen procure an immense quantity of crayfish for the supply of the Italian ports. The island is supposed to have been the Torar of the Saracens; one of their head-quarters from whence they made their attacks on the Italian shores in 828.

The small islet of Biscie, at the entrance of the eastern passage through the straits, takes its name from the *acontia* which abounds there. This small serpent,—the intermediate race, according to Cuvier, between the snake and the true serpent,—is perfectly harmless, being very timid and not at all venomous.

Among the capes and headlands, the Capo dell'Orso is the most remarkable, being a clear and well-known landmark. Ptolemy speaks of it as exactly representing a bear, and 1800 years have not made much difference in its appearance, as it is still an excellent figure of that animal, resting on its hind-legs.

The Capes Della Testa, Del Falcone, and La Marmorata, are the districts from whence the Romans obtained many of the granite columns which still form some of the magnificent monuments of the Eternal city.

Those of the Pantheon are said to have been excavated near Longone, and several similar as well as rude blocks may still be seen in the quarries of Capo La Testa on the promontory of Santa Reparata, near which the remains of some Roman villas have also been discovered. In later days we find the value of the Gallura granite appreciated by the Pisans. Their Duomo, built by Buschetto in 1063, soon after their possession of Sardinia, shews the beauty of the Marmorata rocks; and the immense blocks used in the different parts of it were raised by a machine of so simple and condensed a power, that "ten girls, by working it, moved what vessels could hardly bring, and 1000 oxen could hardly raise." This is recorded in an epigrammatic inscription preserved in their Duomo at Pisa, which runs thus:—

"Quod vix mille boum possent juga juncta movere,
Et quod vix potuit per mare ferre ratis,
Busketi nisu, quod erat mirabile visu,
Dena puellarum turba levabat opus."

The Battisterio, built in 1152 by Dioti Salvi, has likewise much of Gallura material in its construction. When the repairs of the church of St. Paul, at Rome, were undertaken, it was determined that the material should be brought from the Simplon; though it was stated that the quantity and quality of granite might have been obtained from the Gallura quarries at less than half the price, and without the trouble of the land-carriage and risk of the freight by the Adriatic or Mediterranean.

The first appearance of the island of La Madalena, and especially the position of the town, reminded me of Syra, in the Archipelago; though neither as large nor as verdant as that commercial emporium of the Cyclades. The first object that strikes the stranger

on his arrival is the excessive cleanliness. The Spaniards call Cadiz "La Jicara aurea de España," and La Madalena may be christened with equal justice, "The Golden Cup of Sardinia." The quays are in good order, and the generality of the houses being built of granite, or white-washed, have a solid and neat appearance. The population amounts to about 2300, two-thirds of whom are engaged in the coasting-trade. In the whole of the royal navy of the Sardinian States, the island of Sardinia itself does not contribute more than two officers and fifteen sailors, and the greater part of the latter are Ilvese (the name of the inhabitants of La Madalena). The hydrophobia of the Sardes may be attributed primarily to their want of energy; and, secondly, to their having been from generation to generation the constant prey of corsairs, and having their sea-coast villages attacked and ravaged by the Pisans, Genoese, and Spaniards. Obligated thus to retire for safety from the shores to the interior, all maritime spirit and pursuits have been annihilated. The Ilvese women, though industrious in their domestic occupations, have little employment beyond making nets and working the nachera. Almost every house has a mill, and the women not only make the bread, but grind the corn. Some time since it was proposed to save this female drudgery by establishing wind-mills, and no difficulty existed in the means and locality; but the proposition was overruled, as it was considered that if the employment were taken away from the women, they would be perfectly idle.

The Ilvese are a distinct race from the Sardes. Until the year 1767, when Carlo Emanuele III. took formal possession of this as well as of the adjacent islands, it had been inhabited by native and Corsican nomad shep-

herds; who, by their constant communication with Corsica and Sardinia, and by intermarriage with the natives of both, were considered as a mezzo termine mentally and physically, as they were territorially. The commune of La Madalena comprehends the adjacent islands of Caprera, St. Stefano, Spargi, and St. Maria. The port called Calagavetta, might be good, but owing to an accumulation of sand and dirt, is incapable of holding vessels of more than 400 tons. It is sheltered by the hills of the island on the north and north-east, by the island of Caprera on the east, by St. Stefano to the south, the head-lands of the Sardinian shore break the force of the westerly gales, and the fortresses of St. Vittorio, St. Agostino, St. Teresa, Balbiano, St. Andrea, and St. Georgio, are so placed as to be able to pour a cross-fire on any vessel which might attack the port. That of St. Vittorio overhanging the town on a steep eminence of 600 feet, commands an extensive view over the polynesia of the north-west of Sardinia, and south and south-east coast of Corsica.

There are only two churches, which, though sufficient, are infinitely fewer than would be found for a similar population in Sardinia. The island is in the diocese of Tempio, but being exempt from heavy tithes, has consequently no superfluous priests, religious orders, or monasteries. The principal and parochial church, dedicated to La Madalena, was built with granite and marble, from the islands of La Testa and Tavolara; the greater part having been brought by the natives on their dies fasti, as religious vows and offerings, according to the custom in many Roman Catholic countries. It is very neat and in good taste; but the other church, built in 1764, about two miles from the town, has nothing worthy of remark.

Crime is very uncommon ; or, at least, its discovery and punishment are so ; for during many years the laws have only had to deal with offences of so slight a character that even imprisonment is rare.

The climate is healthy, intemperie and pleurisy being unknown ; and the majority of the inhabitants attain a considerable age.

The trade, consisting in the exportation and freight of corn, cattle, and cheese, to Bastia, Leghorn, and Marseilles, is carried on by about twenty-two vessels of twenty tons each, and seventy of a smaller class for coasting. 262 vessels, exclusive of ships of war, entered the port during 1842 ; of which 191 were Genoese, 55 Neapolitan, 14 French, and 2 Tuscan ; their united tonnage being 4825.

The export duty on corn fluctuates on a sliding-scale ; that on oxen is 3*s.* 10½*d.* per head ; on sheep 4¾*d.* ; and on cheese 9½*d.* per cwt. This is the legitimate commerce ; but the comparative wealth, comfort, and ease of the Ilvese are obtained by an extensive system of contraband trade on the north coast of Sardinia. Not half of the cottons, linens, or woollen goods imported there are ever honored by the visit of a douanier ; there being a facility of landing and concealing them in the little bays and recesses of the shores which would baffle a whole corps of custom-house officers, even if they existed ; and from these natural warehouses the goods are subsequently carried over the mountains in small unsuspecting looking packages.

Provisions are more expensive than in Sardinia ; wine being 2½*d.* the pinta or litro ; bread, 1½*d.* ; meat, 1½*d.* ; fish, 1½*d.* ; and cheese, 3½*d.* the pound.

The history of this little island, the Insula Ilva or Phintonis of the Romans, is a blank until the end of

the last century, when it acquired some interest from the circumstances of Buonaparte having bombarded it in person, from there meeting with the first repulse in his glorious career, and from Nelson having made it his head-quarters for a considerable period. On the 22nd of February 1798, a French blockading force, consisting of a large frigate and several smaller vessels, under the command of General Cesari, left Bonifacio, and, landing in the night on the Island of St. Stefano, disembarked their material and raised a battery, the vessels taking up their position between the two islands.

On the 24th, Buonaparte, who was second in command of a company of Corsican artillery, under Colonel Giambatista, at St. Stefano, opened a heavy fire on La Madalena; and it was responded to with equal fury and vigor from a battery which the islanders had raised. Their garrison amounted to five hundred; and the Gallura shores were defended by its native mountaineers, who rallied around their holy banner of La Madonna di Logu Santu. The French frigate having been dismasted bore up for Arsachena; and the passage between the islands being thus clear, a force of 400 Sardes embarked from Parao and attacked St. Stefano. So vigorous was the onset that Buonaparte was obliged to escape precipitately with some of his party from the island, leaving 200 prisoners, with all their stores, baggage, and artillery; and in passing between the other islands they were also attacked by some Gallurese who had concealed themselves off Capo della Caprera, and who, by the precision of their firing, committed great havoc among the flying enemy. Many of the Corsicans and Ilvese who witnessed this action are still living; and they narrate various circumstances relative to it. The following I heard from the mouth of an old veteran

who was an eye-witness of the fact. Buonaparte was superintending the firing from the battery, and watching the effect of it with his telescope ; and, observing the people going to mass, immediately exclaimed :—“Voglio tirare alla chiesa per far fuggire le donne,”—“I should like to fire at the church just to frighten the women.” While in garrison at Bonifacio, as lieutenant of artillery, he had mortar and gun practice every Sunday, and on all occasions had shewn the greatest precision in firing. In this particular instance he was no less successful, for the bomb entered the church window, and fell at the foot of the image of N. S. di Madalena. It refused to burst in its presence, and this miraculous instance of politeness and religious respect had its due weight with the pious islanders, by whom it was taken up, and for a long time preserved among the sacred curiosities of the town, till a gentleman bought it for 150 francs, and, it is said, sent it to Scotland. A natural cause was, however, soon found for the harmlessness of the projectile. Napoleon continued his firing ; but finding that the shells took no effect, though they fell on the very spot he intended, he examined some of them, and found that they were filled with sand. “Amici,” he exclaimed, burning with indignation, “ecco il tradimento !” and the soldiers and sailors who at this time had been suffering much from the fire from La Madalena, imagining that the treason was on the part of General Cesari, determined to put him *alla lanterna*. The general, however, had sufficient time to get away, and went on board the frigate ; but even there his life would have been sacrificed had it not been for the fidelity of his servant, who defended him, and secreted him close to the powder-magazine. On their attempting to seize the

general, he presented one pistol at their heads and the other at the magazine, declaring that on the least attack on his master he would set fire to it and blow up the ship. The whole of this unfortunate affair terminated in the retreat of the general, with the rest of his force, from St. Stefano, having thrown upwards of 500 bombs and 5,000 other shot without much effect; and thus terminated Buonaparte's defeat at La Madalena.

We will now turn to the visits of Lord Nelson to this little island, when he assumed the command of the Mediterranean fleet in 1803, and commenced the blockade of Toulon. During that anxious period he seems to have made it his head-quarters, and to have formed so high an opinion of the advantages of Sardinia, not only in a maritime but a political point of view, that his observations are interesting as regarding himself, and important in reference to the state of the island at that period.

It is evident from his letters and journal, that he considered Sardinia to be the most valuable station in the Mediterranean, and "an itching palm" to possess it continually shewed itself in his despatches, where he constantly urged on our government its occupation, as necessary in connection with the war in which we were then engaged. In October, 1803, he proceeded with his fleet to this, his favorite spot, and notwithstanding a heavy gale of wind, in addition to the usual dangers of the Straits of Bonifacio from the number of islets and sunken rocks, he reached his destination in safety. The exact words of his diary need not be quoted, as they are only interesting in a nautical point of view; but in a letter to Captain Ryves, dated November 1st, 1803, he says:—"We anchored in Agincourt sound yesterday evening. . . . We worked the 'Victory' every foot

of the way from Asinara to this anchorage, blowing hard from Longo Sardo, under double-reefed topsails. . . . This is absolutely one of the finest harbours I have ever seen !” The difficulties of the Bonifacio passage can hardly be understood by the landsman, but they are stated to have been so great, “and the ships to have passed in so extraordinary a manner, that their captains could only consider it as a Providential interposition in favor of the great officer who commanded them.”—*Vide* Clarke and M^rArthur’s Life of Nelson, vol. ii. p. 336.

In writing to Mr. Jackson, the minister at Turin, in November, 1803, Lord Nelson thus expresses his opinion of the state of the place and its resources :—

“What a noble harbour is formed by these islands ! The world cannot produce a finer ! The generality of our crews have been upwards of five months at sea. This is not a very plentiful place, but still I hope we shall be allowed to purchase what we can obtain for our money ; for the stated supplies of thirty bullocks for each ship might do very well, if they each weighed 700 lbs. ; but what we get are only from 150 to 200 lbs. ; and although the King of Sardinia may not be at war with the French, yet if, for want of refreshments, this fleet be laid up, I believe the French would not scruple to take Sardinia and Sicily. Therefore all parties are, or ought to be, warmly interested in our welfare, and in keeping us in good health. The Sardinians, generally speaking, are attached to us ; but there are French intriguers amongst them, and I understand they hope to bring about a revolt.”

The following letter to Lord Hobart, dated December 22nd, 1803, shews how forcibly Lord Nelson impressed the importance of the island on the British government :—

“ My dear Lord,—In presuming to give my opinion on any subject, I venture not at infallibility, and more particular information may convince me that opinion is wrong. But as my observations on what I see are not unacceptable, I shall state them as they strike me at the moment of writing. God knows if we could possess one island, Sardinia, we should want neither Malta nor any other. This, which is the finest island in the Mediterranean, possesses harbours fit for arsenals, and of a capacity to hold our navy within twenty-four hours’ sail of Toulon,—bays to ride our fleets in, and to watch both Italy and Toulon; no fleet could pass to the eastward between Sicily and the coast of Barbary, nor through the Faro of Messina.

“ Malta, in point of position, is not to be named in the same year with Sardinia. All the fine ports of Sicily are situated on the eastern side of the island: consequently of no use to watch anything but the Faro of Messina. And, my lord, I venture to predict that if we do not, from delicacy or commiseration of the lot of the unfortunate King of Sardinia, the French will get possession of that island. Sardinia is very little known: it was the policy of Piedmont to keep it in the background; and whoever it has belonged to, it seems to have been their maxim to rule the inhabitants with severity, in loading its produce with such duties as prevented their growth. I will only mention one circumstance as a proof. Half a cheese was seized because a poor man was selling it to our boats, and it had not paid the duty. Fowls, eggs, beef, and every article are most heavily taxed. The coast of Sardinia certainly wants every penny to maintain itself; and yet I am told, after the wretched establishment of the island is paid, that the king does not receive 5000*l.* a

year. The country is fruitful beyond idea, and abounds in cattle, sheep, and would in corn, wine, and oil. It has no manufactories. In the hands of a liberal government, and freed from the dread of the Barbary states, there is no telling what its produce would not amount to. It is worth any money to obtain, and I pledge my existence it could be held for as little as Malta in its establishment, and produce a larger revenue." The remainder of this despatch is respecting other matters.

In a letter to Lord Minto, dated January 11th, 1804, he says :—" Sardinia, if we do not take very soon, the French will ; and then we shall lose the most important island, as a naval and military station, in the Mediterranean. It possesses, at its northern extremity, the finest harbour in the world. It equals Trincomalee. If I lose Sardinia, I lose a French fleet."

He thus writes to Mr. Jackson on February 10th, 1804. " The storm is brewing, and there can be little doubt that Sardinia is one of the first objects of its violence. We have a report that the visit of Lucien Buonaparte is to effect an amicable exchange of Sardinia for Parma and Piacenza. This must not take place, or Sicily, Malta, Egypt, &c. &c. &c. are lost sooner or later. What I can do to ward off the blow shall be done, as I have already assured H. R. H. the Viceroy. From Marseilles to Nice there are not less than 30,000 men ready for embarkation. Should Russia go to war with France, from that moment I consider the mask as being thrown off, with respect to any neutrality of his Sardinian Majesty. . Therefore, if that should be the case, would the king consent to two or three hundred British troops taking post upon Madalena? It would be a momentary check against an invasion from Corsica,

and would enable us to assist the northern part of Sardinia. You will touch upon the matter in the way you think most prudent, or entirely omit it; but there is only this choice,—to lose the whole of Sardinia, or allow a small body of friendly troops to hold a part at the northern end of the island. We may prevent, but cannot re-take. Sardinia is the most important post in the Mediterranean. The wind which would carry a French fleet to the westward is fair from Sardinia; and Madalena is the most important station in this most important island. I am told that the revenue, after paying the expenses of the island, does not give the king 5000*l.* sterling a year. If it be so, I would give him 500,000*l.* to cede it, which would produce him 25,000*l.* a year for ever. This is only my conviction; but the king cannot long hold Sardinia."

In a letter to Lord St. Vincent, he says, "I have written to Lord Hobart on the importance of Sardinia. It is worth a hundred Malts in position, and has the finest man-of-war harbour in Europe. In short, it has nothing but advantages."

To Lord Hobart, he says (March 17, 1804), "It is the summum bonum of every thing which is valuable for us in the Mediterranean. The more I know of it, the more I am convinced of its inestimable value, from position, naval port, and resources of all kinds."

The following is from a letter to Lord Hawkesbury, dated June 22, 1804.

"If I were at your Lordship's elbow, I think I could say so much upon the subject of Sardinia, that attempts would be made to obtain it. For this I hold as clear, that the King of Sardinia cannot keep it; and if he could, that it is of no use to him. That if France gets it, she commands the Mediterranean; and that by us

it would be kept at a much smaller expense than Malta. From its position it is worth fifty Maltsas."

There are various other letters of Lord Nelson on this subject, but sufficient have been adduced to shew the high estimation in which he held the island. While at anchor at La Madalena, and in Agincourt* sound, he kept two or three vessels continually cruising between Toulon and the straits of Bonifacio, to signalize to him in case any of the enemy should attempt to come out of that port, occasionally taking the whole fleet with him on a cruise, and then returning to his head quarters. It was from this sudden presence and disappearance of his vessels off Toulon, in his endeavour to allure the French fleet out, that Monsieur Latouche Treville, their admiral, made his ludicrous and well-known boast "that he had chased the whole British fleet, which had fled before him." This false assertion so irritated Lord Nelson that he constantly alluded to it in his dispatches to the government, as well as in his private conversation and letters; and in one of the latter to his brother, he says, "You will have seen by Latouche's letter how he chased me, and how I ran. I keep it; and if I take him, by God he shall eat it."

Notwithstanding the slight inconvenience Lord Nelson experienced at first, in getting starved heifers instead "the roast beef of Old England," he was subsequently well provided with all requisites. The general health of the whole fleet was something remarkable, for according to his diary, October 26, 1804, when mentioning his getting under weigh for a cruise from the Madalena, with the Victory, Canopus, Superb, Spencer, Tigre,

* This name was given to the Sound by Lord Nelson himself, according to James, Naval Hist. vol. iii. p. 226.

Royal Sovereign, Leviathan, Excellent, Belleisle, and Conqueror, all ships of the line, besides the rest of his frigates and smaller vessels, he adds, "with not one man sick in the fleet."

On the 19th of January, 1805, the vessel in the offing signalized that the French fleet had put to sea,—the accomplishment of all his expectations, wishes, prayers, and vows. One of my informants at La Madalena mentioned to me that there was much gaiety in dances, private-theatricals, and other amusements, on board the different vessels at that period, and it so happened that a rehearsal, or some preparation for the evening's entertainment, was going forward at the moment the all-stirring signal was discovered. As soon as it was acknowledged on board the Victory, the responding one appeared, "under-weigh immediately;" and the scene of excitement and confusion from the precipitous departure and interruption of their festivities was most graphically narrated. It was a dark wintry evening, and the quickness of the order was equalled by the skill and courage with which it was executed. The passage is so narrow that only one ship could pass at a time, and each was guided merely by the stern lights of the preceding vessel. At seven o'clock the whole of the fleet was entirely clear of the passage, and bidding a long farewell to La Madalena, they stood out after the French fleet to the southward. Though Lord Nelson only slightly alludes to it in his diary, yet the extreme hardihood and determined spirit exhibited by him on this particular occasion was the subject of especial eulogy in the House of Lords by his late Majesty, then Duke of Clarence, being cited as the greatest instance of his unflinching courage and constant activity. It has been stated also by those acquainted with the locality,

and consequently with the difficulty of the task, to be no less a proof of his skill and tactics.

Previous to his departure, Nelson presented the church of La Madalena with two massive silver candlesticks and a silver crucifix, surmounted with a Saviour in gold, of Barcelonese workmanship ; and on the triangular pedestal are engraved his own arms, the arms of Bronte, and the following inscription :—

VICE COMES

NELSON NILI

DUX BRONTIS ECCE.

STE MAGDAL. INSE.

STE MAGDAL.

D. D. D.

More than one motive is attributed to Lord Nelson in this gift, though generally ascribed to his acknowledgment of the kindness and hospitality he received from the islanders. When the town publicly thanked him for the donation, he replied, according to my informant's statement :—" These little ornaments are nothing. Wait till I catch the French outside their port. If they will but come out I am sure to capture them ; and I promise to give you the value of one of their frigates to build a church with. I have only to ask you to pray to La Santissima Madonna, that the French fleet may come out of Toulon. Do you pray to her for that, and as for capturing them I will undertake to do all the rest."

A bit of scandal, current at La Madalena, may be mentioned, for the purpose of endeavouring to refute it. Notwithstanding the *liaison* of a Hamilton it is asserted, and is in print, that Lord Nelson was not insensible to the charms and blandishments of a young and lovely girl, who was at that time considered the belle of the

island. Emma Liona, for such was her name, was no less flattered by his attentions; and the consequent amour became a matter of notoriety. If one believes thus much, it requires no great stretch of faith to believe the statement that it was at her wish and instigation that the ornaments were given to the church, as offerings and vows for their mutual safety. Now, the veracity of the whole of the anecdote may be very well doubted, when we find in Nelson's diary when he was at Gibraltar, on the 20th July, 1805, the following observation:—"I went ashore for the first time since June 16th, 1803, and from having my foot out of the Victory two years, wanting ten days."

In a letter to Sir Charles Pole, in May 1804, he says:—"We are all as happy as a set of animals can be who have been in fact more than a year at sea; or, rather, without going ashore; for, with the exception of anchoring under the northern end of Sardinia, not a ship has been to a naval yard to refit during that time."

In another letter, dated about the same time, and addressed to Mr. Foresti, at Corfu, is this passage:—"Not a ship in this fleet has been into any port since the war; and to this moment I have never had my foot out of the ship." It was stated, also, by the Duke of Clarence, who had ascertained the fact, that Lord Nelson never went out of the Victory but three times, and then on the King's service, from his leaving England, in 1803, to his return in 1805; and none of these absences from his ship exceeded an hour.

As his first visit to La Madalena was on the 31st October, 1803, and he left it for the last time on the 19th of January, 1805, it is quite clear, according to his own statement, that he never went ashore during nearly fifteen months he passed there. We know, moreover,

that in 1804, when the Royal Sardinian family were fugitives from Piedmont, and under the protection of the British at Cagliari, he was pressed to visit them, but declined the honour with the excuse that his duty required his presence on board. These statements and circumstances, though not a positive refutation of the report, are sufficient indirect evidence to counterbalance the probability of the fact. But, whether the anecdote be true or false, the name of Nelson is revered; and his candlesticks, whether the offering of love or religion, are no less objects of the highest interest to the Ilvese. The presence of his fleet was, as I heard from various authorities, a source of as much pecuniary advantage as gaiety; and their kindness, amiability, and good behaviour, seem to have left a favourable opinion of our nation. Entertainments and amusements of all kinds were in constant succession; and the victualing of so large a fleet was a profitable business for the Gallurese, as well as the Ilvese; the contraband trade with Corsica being also carried on to a greater extent than it even now is. The departure of Nelson and his fleet was, as the Ilvese say, "un colpo di apoplessia" on them; and it is, therefore, not without cause that they now complain of the great change that has taken place, and express their discontent at their present want of vitality.

These observations relative to Napoleon and Nelson, may have occupied too much space; but the circumstance of so insignificant and almost unknown a spot, having been the scene of the defeat of the one at the commencement of his career, and the head-quarters of the other during that which he considered the most anxious period of his life; namely, his endeavours to capture his rival's fleet, may be some apology for their length.

Valery, in mentioning La Madalena and these events, says :—"Les deux grands donataires de la Madeleine n'ont point toutefois touché son sol. Nelson qui laissait aller à terre ses officiers, ne voulait jamais quitter un instant son bord, et le corps d'armée de Napoleon fut repoussé. Cette carrière si glorieuse,—ces innombrables victoires sur tant de lointains champs de bataille, devaient se trouver entre deux désastres ; le petit et obscur échec de la Madeleine, et l'immense revers de Waterloo."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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